

# THE VATICAN YESTERDAY—TODAY TOMORROW

By GEORGE SELDES

*The historical chapters in this work are drawn  
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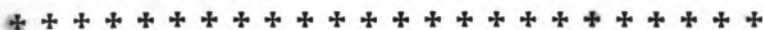
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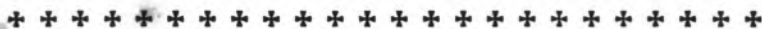
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PART I

THE ANCIENT VATICAN



## CHAPTER I

### *The Oldest and Newest Institution in the World*

OF ALL THE GREAT INSTITUTIONS WHICH EXIST TODAY THE VATICAN is by far the oldest. Of all the important states which function today the Vatican is the newest. The newest state is the smallest in the world and has few more than five hundred subjects, but from its official buildings the spiritual life of more than three hundred million souls is governed. An Egyptian obelisk stands on the spot where Peter was crucified; it is surrounded by buildings of the Renaissance, and in the background rise towers of the 1930's commemorating the newest achievement of modern science. Nowhere in the world are old and new in greater contrast.

Few institutions in the long course of known history have changed so little and yet so vitally as the Vatican. In religion, popes have said, there has been no change whatever but continuous interpretation; in temporal affairs there have been changes which have been matters of life and death within the memory of the living generation. War again invaded the Vatican in 1870, the Papal States were seized, the ruler left a "prisoner" in his house until 1929, when a new nation was created, unique in area, in activity, and in power.

The present State of Vatican City, in the opinion of international jurists, is not a continuation of the Papal States, but an entirely new and different entity with a constitution and functions having little relation to the temporal organization which existed from the eighth century to the afternoon of the 20th of September, 1870. In the eyes of churchmen there is also a difference between the ancient and the modern situation. "*La Santa Sede non è uno Stato; la Santa Sede a uno Stato*," was the announcement of

Monsignor Ritter in Berne—"The Holy See *is not* a State; the Holy See *has* a State."

Having this hundred acres under its absolute rule, the Vatican is now enabled to treat with nations as an equal, to enter into the political and social life of the world as it has always entered into the spiritual kingdom. In temporal affairs, therefore, changes may be expected with the changing times. The Church has never neglected to adapt itself to the genius of nations, the great Pope Leo XIII said in his famous encyclical, *Rerum Novarum*, half a century ago, to which the present pope in 1933 added: "The Church accommodates herself to all forms of governments and civil institutions, provided the right of God and the Christian conscience are left intact." To see the result of this policy one has but to refer to Leo's treatment of the so-called question of Americanism in his time, and Pius XI's handling of the Fascist problem in Italy and Germany.

The visitor to Rome may be impressed particularly by the high note of modernity in the wireless towers not far from the dome of Saint Peter's, but other observers without leaving home may find this adaptability to the *Zeitgeist* as clearly shown by the Vatican's struggle with Mussolini and Hitler, in the battles waged by the little premier of Austria, Engelbert Dollfuss, in the opposition to Soviet Russia, and in many policies which meet other national and international problems.

The Concordat of Napoleon had an effect in European history for a hundred years; today the Vatican has made it a policy to sign treaties with all important nations which are willing. No ancient institution was as alert as the Vatican to recognize the industrialization of labour in the nineteenth century and to formulate a modern policy which influenced and is influencing social and political trends throughout the world, and no other institution has so quickly recognized the situation caused by the development of machinery which may either free or enslave mankind, or the present movement for the subjugation of the individual to the state.

In the modern Vatican all thought centres on peace instead of

war. Pius XI will go into history as the Pontiff of Peace. The effort of a predecessor to avert the World War, and the great attempt of another to halt the "useless butchery" in 1917—an action that will be considered objectively in following pages, since it can now be separated from the nationalist, militarist, and perverse propaganda and passions of its time—have led to the present head of the Vatican formulating a programme of a Christian peace in the reign of Christ—*Pax Christi in regno Christi*. The time may even come when those who in 1914 asked why the pope did not forbid war to the French and German, the Austrian and the Italian, Catholics, may be answered with a declaration *ex cathedra*.

Not only the World War, but distinct movements which followed—the overthrow of kings, the establishment of democracies, the reaction of hypernationalism and business interests which created Fascist dictatorships, the movement of extreme radicalism—have again demonstrated the brilliant adaptability of the Catholic Church. The Habsburgs went in 1918, and the Bourbons gave up the last Catholic stronghold in 1931. Kings and demagogues go and come. Communism declares war on capitalism. Blood flows as revolutionary groups struggle for power. But the Church slowly and deliberately moves forward, too: issuing new encyclicals on the social problems of the century and creating new organisms, chief of which is the *Azione Cattolica* (which may be translated as Catholic Action or Catholic League) to maintain and spread Catholic ideas and principles.

We may never again see a Catholic king crowned by a pope, but only a few months ago the announcement of the excommunication of the governing officials of the Spanish Republic called up memories of kings and kingdoms which in the past have suffered the extreme penalty the Vatican can impose. In our time no Henry IV may come across the Alps, dragged by oxen, to lie half frozen outside the pope's door, weeping for forgiveness, but we can see a Dollfuss and a von Papen flying the Alps in aeroplanes, and even a Mussolini, once a confessed atheist and pope-baiter, kissing the hand of the pontiff and kneeling (as if) in prayer before the statue of Saint Peter in the Basilica.

The visitor to the Sistine Chapel may, under the direction of a guide, look at Michelangelo's ceiling in a mirror, but only the exercise of imagination will enable him to see the paint-stained artist at work, bellowing his replies to the pope who had come to spur him on. The visitor may look at the almost empty room, but unless he is a cardinal he will never see the fifty or sixty princely chairs ranged along its walls, with a cardinal under a baldachin in each, waiting to cast a ballot for a pope, and even if he is a cardinal, he will never again hear one of his colleagues read a message from a European king vetoing the victory of the candidate who nears election. Here also an ancient right which has persisted down to our own days has been defeated by the forces of modern democracy. In this room, where the Renaissance created its *chef-d'œuvre* in art, history was again made in 1903.

If in the Sacred College today one does not find the antagonism between French and Italian cardinals which led to the Great Schism and to Avignon, one can, however, perceive in this most international of assemblies, the stirring of nationalistic emotions so characteristic of the twentieth century. Not so long ago a World War broke many friendships between the cardinals of the Triple Alliance and the Triple Entente nations. Peace reunited them. But Catholic nations and large Catholic groups continue to press, as they did in mediæval times, for greater representation if not for domination. North and South America are the most aggressive. In lay circles the four American cardinals are now known (in a friendly way, to be sure) as leaders of the Opposition. The question of Italian domination has taken a decisive turn since the solution of the Roman question. South America, watching North American representation grow from one to two, and from two to four, desires like honours. Brazil alone has a representative, the archbishop of Rio de Janeiro, Sebastiano Leme de Silveria Cintra, created in 1930. Argentine and Chile jealously seek the elevation of one of their bishops. Peru, Uruguay, and Colombia, whose Monsignor Sanz de Sanper was majordomo and who was therefore traditionally entitled to the red hat, would not be content

to see only the A. B. C. powers represented. Every South American state wants at least one cardinal.

In these circumstances the pope can find one of two solutions: he can enlarge the College until it becomes more like a League of Nations, or he can emphasize more than ever the supernatural position of cardinals, the original and never changing universality and internationalism of the Catholic Church. One way of doing this is by demonstrating the absolute power of the sovereign pontiff and its corollary, the powerlessness of the Sacred College whose function is limited to electing popes, approving the nomination of new cardinals, and governing the Church (without creating anything new) the few days between the death of one pope and the creation of another.

One has but to read the constitution of the new Vatican state to learn how the ancient autocracy of the papacy has been restated in the newest legislative act. The pope is not only a ruler, but he is an absolute ruler. He combines the three functions of any national government—the executive, the judiciary, and the administrative—in one person. He is as supreme in his state as he is in his Church, now as heretofore.

No other pope has been so eager to employ all that science has to offer. If the radio towers have modernized the landscape, they have also modernized the pope's relationship with the listening world. The Vatican station, HVJ, brings the pope's voice to millions of people, and soon new inventions will make him visible. His first message over the radio, characteristically, was one for international peace. It is estimated that more than six hundred million persons, almost a third of the earth's population, could have understood the six languages in which the first broadcast was translated.

The present ruler has issued his own money and his postage. His coins artistically do not approach Cellini's masterpieces which are treasured by collectors. The new stamps, with the coat of arms, the tiara over crossed keys, are similar to a famous issue of the old Papal States.

If one looks in vain for that sign of the ultimate in modern

cities, the airport, there is at least a promise in the new treaty. Not only is the pope permitted to have aircraft, but the Italian government guarantees the right to pass over its territory coming and going. It forecasts a future pope arriving and departing from his own airfield, in his own machine, free at last to travel anywhere in the world without obligations to anyone.

The visitor may look anxiously for the activity of the Inquisition. He may not recognize it in the Congregation of the Holy Office, whose object, which includes that of the Index, is "to guard the teaching of faith and morals; to judge on heresy, the dogmatic doctrine of the sacraments . . . and to examine the books submitted, to prohibit them, and to concede dispensations; also officially to investigate whether writings of any kind, that should be condemned, are circulated, and to remind the ordinaries how solemnly they are bound to condemn pernicious writings, and to denounce them to the Holy See."

At an ordinary bookshop the visitor may pick up a copy of the Church Index of Prohibited Books, which he may have believed a secret publication obtainable only by intrigue and great expense. He will look in vain for the word "expurgatorius" on it. With great curiosity he may turn the alphabetic pages for the modern English and American authors who have been censored and prohibited in Boston and New York and London by vice suppression and watch-and-ward societies, the police, the customs house, the post office authorities. He will not find D. H. Lawrence and James Joyce, nor George Moore, Barbusse and Rolland, nor Hemingway, Faulkner; though indecent books are prohibited *ipso facto* by Canon Law. And yet he will find items dated in the 1930's.

Change, adaptability, the modern spirit, are clearly shown by each new edition of the Index, whose history is told elsewhere.

The long history of court trials is continued today by a tribunal which sits, in cassock and lace, in the hall of the new barracks of the pontifical gendarmes. Here no famous heretic is heard; it is more like a local police court in a modern city. On the 10th of December, 1929, one Marguerite Ramstead of Sweden

fired a shot at Monsignor Smit, a Dutchman, apostolic vicar of Norway, resident of Rome and canon of St. Peter's. A prelate standing near the woman, in the basilica, struck her arm and the shot missed. The woman was found psychopathic, suffering from religious mania, irresponsible, and was set free. January 29th, 1930, the first case came up for the tribunal. Giuseppe de Paolis has the dubious honour of being the first sentenced criminal of the new state. He was caught robbing the alms-box near the Confession of Saint Peter's. With seven lire in his hand he was taken to trial. The president, Paul Pericoli, chevalier of the Grand Cross, after listening to prosecutor and defendant, pronounced sentence of three months. On March 21, 1932, Ernesto Nardoni, a painter, was arrested for using obscene language and throwing his hat and some coins at the statue of Saint Peter, and on Easter Sunday, six days later, an elderly woman who tried to make a speech was led out and given over to the Italian police. This is the record.

At the Confession in the centre of Saint Peter's the impressive religious silence makes it difficult to see the horses stabled, the soldiers bivouacked, the frequent pillage and slaughter. On this floor men fought and blood flowed. The Nordic-Aryan-Christian leaders who sacked the basilica destroyed and profaned it in a more terrible way than the Pagans and the Mohammedans who preceded them.

In the garden behind this vast dome the present pope has just ordered razed the ancient little palace where the late Cardinal Merry del Val lived. The order was hardly noted. But it might have recalled the courage of that other pope who dared all Christendom by destroying the original monument to Saint Peter when he cleared the ground in order to build the present vast Basilica.

Where today are the Crusades of the Middle Ages? The Vatican still has its soldiers, some armed with lances, others with new rifles, can still call for the united movement of Christendom against the pagan, but its great armies are the religious orders, and its war on the pagan is carried on by missionaries with bibles and medicines. The visitor to Rome in Holy Year 1925 was duly impressed by the missionary exhibition which has been made



permanent. The Catholic Church has made more than thirteen million converts in its missions and has almost a million and a half catechumens—converts awaiting baptism. In this crusade of converting the world it has an army of more than a hundred and sixty thousand priests, both European and native, laymen, teachers, doctors, and others. In 1925 the Holy Year procession included the first coloured bishop—Monsignor Roche, of India. In 1927 seven Chinese were raised to episcopal dignity, and since then Japanese. If in the days of the Church Militant converts were made by the sword, and in the days of the Church Triumphant by missionaries, it seems to be the new order that native bishops and native priests should bear the burden of converting their own peoples and join them to the Universal Church. And there is no canon law or tradition against any man, brown or black or red, becoming a cardinal or a pope.

Although millions of lines have accumulated during its long history, the Vatican for many remains *terra incognita*, as the old atlases said of remote regions which explorers had only partly or vaguely discovered. The Vatican, this institution which knows the entire world, whose centre is exactly the centre of the civilized world, earns the name of "unknown land" because so few who speak of it know what it is, how it functions, and how it has adjusted itself to the problems of the world from its beginning to the present.

What are the origins of such a paradoxical situation? There are two that can be briefly indicated. First, it is political passion that has brought sentimental consideration into the study of this historical phenomenon, and almost always warped the judgment of examiners. Many who have written on the Vatican have not succeeded in laying aside partisan spirit, and under the guise of history have given us works perhaps estimable, but all in all only "speeches for the crown," or apologies.

In the second place it is necessary to observe that the atmosphere of the Roman Curia is a special one—that is, particularly an aulic atmosphere. In the Pontifical Court, as in all the courts of the world, secrecy, privacy, and obscure light are affected. The

Roman temperament, which is the temperament of the Renaissance, adds to this cautious silence; the Roman palaces, where life is veiled, will always have the appearance of majestic tombs. And on the other hand, outside of ecclesiastics, who are restrained for many legitimate reasons, there are very few people who understand the mechanism of the Vatican and who are wholly able to judge it impartially. It therefore happens that this formidable institution revolves in the centre of the modern world, before the eyes of the great public, like a monstrous creation, inscrutable and speechless.

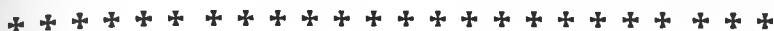
This secrecy which surrounds the inhabitants of the Vatican, or to which they submit to in order to enclose their actions, will become clearer if we give our attention to its double character. It is first of all and essentially a religious action. The sovereign pontiff, according to the terms of Catholic theology, is in reality only a "vicar," a substitute, for no other than the founder of the Church, the first Priest, Jesus Christ, whose place he occupies and whose authority he retains. But, this royalty, entirely spiritual, is exercised on the intimacy of consciences, on the most secret and chaste part of the soul. Yet all the communications of this mysterious plan, which are called the sacraments, the vows of religion, the inner life, are imponderable things, and if the observer does not approach them in an affectionate and pleasant way, they will immediately take refuge in their inviolate sanctuaries.

On the other hand, history has endowed this often depressed but always revived organism with a political vitality which has no parallel. The slow failure of the Roman Empire had allowed only one organized power in the Eternal City to exist—that of the pope—and this power surely inherits, according to a proverb well known in diplomacy, the authority attached to affairs that circumstances lead it to handle.

Nevertheless, despite the establishment of the "patrimony of Saint Peter," which he owed to the progress and cleverness of Pepin the Short, the pope, although temporal sovereign, even in the glorious hours of its victories and pomp, was never more than a small sovereign in this domain. At all times he had to reckon

with other sovereigns, more thoughtless of moral obligations, more eager for immediate and practical gains and, above all, when it was necessary for him in modern times, to maintain his position among the large national monarchies or federations of the terminated Middle Age, he had to resort to this necessary weapon of those who are physically weak—negotiation. Still, as everyone knows, good negotiation is only done with discretion and secrecy.

To understand objectively the recent history of the Vatican negotiations with kings and states, to understand more clearly its world position, it is necessary to review briefly the story of its growth, materially and spiritually, from a shrine to Saint Peter to the great complex of buildings of today; to follow the march of power of a persecuted sect from the catacombs to the ruling council-chambers; to glance at the organization of an international religion and an international state unique in the world.



## CHAPTER II

### *History and Topography, from the Egyptian Obelisk to the Radio*

CALIGULA'S EGYPTIAN OBELISK AND MARCONI'S PYLONS OF THE RADIO station are the landmarks in the background in Vatican history which will here be outlined briefly. No landmarks could be more distant and at the same time more symbolical.

The Vatican hill was first, as the Latin etymology indicates, a place of prophecies (*vaticinia*), but the Etruscan divines and the great Lucumon, interpreter of the terrible "will" of the dwarf Tages, and the later Roman augurs, have long passed away. The ancient mount of pagan oracles is no longer known except as the seat of pontifical infallibility. However, long centuries rolled by before the popes came and established themselves there. The Vatican, for the first successors of Saint Peter and for Peter himself, was not a place where one lived but where one died, or at least a place where the mortal remains of the popes were kept. Saint Peter was crucified in 67. In time a sepulchre was erected there bordering the garden, facing the entrance of the circus where he had been executed. This tomb later also received the remains of Saint Linus, his successor, and it was here in this common burial-place that Saint Anacletus, third bishop of Rome, erected a chapel in memory of the first pope. This is the precise origin of this extraordinary ensemble, spiritual and temporal, which we today call the "Vatican."

But this chapel to which numerous pilgrims came to pray seemed too modest to the Emperor Constantine, who had established "the peace of the Church." After he had been cured of a grave malady at the tomb of the Prince of Apostles, he constructed

in the same neighbourhood a majestic votive offering of imperial gratitude, a basilica in honour of Peter, apostle, bishop, and martyr.

This basilica was larger than all the others. It stretched out along the circus where Saint Peter had been crucified to a point where it utilized as a foundation of its exterior left wall the exterior right wall of the circus. The main altar was erected just above the tomb of the apostle, bordering, as has been said, the enclosure of the circus, and the atrium occupied the place behind the monumental stairway of the present basilica. Pope Sylvester consecrated it the 18th of November in the year 324.

Thus the magnificent Constantine, after having lodged the pope of his time, Melchiades, on the Lateran hill, installed for the millenniums the forerunner of all the popes, Saint Peter, on the hill of the Vatican.

The new Constantine basilica fully merited that architectural name. It possessed five rectangular naves, stretched out and separated by rows of columns, the central nave dominating the others. In total effect the basilica was an edifice strongly resembling what we today would call a *hall* or a *bourse* and which, moreover, at its origin, before its ecclesiastical distinction, performed the functions of such buildings.

But there the resemblance stops, because the Constantine basilica quickly became, as its authors willed, radiant with riches and with beauty. One has only to glance at the descriptions of the *Liber pontificalis* or of Saint Paulinus, Bishop of Nola, or of Gregory of Tours to have an idea of the splendour brought it by the piety of the faithful and the munificence of the emperor.

Leaving the square, one entered the "design" of the basilica by steps of porphyry and marble. Crossing a columned vestibule one reached the court of honour, square, paved with marble, the atrium. In its centre, under a bronze dome resting on four small columns, the fountain of purification was erected; here were grouped those who were excluded from the holy mysteries, catechumens, or penitents; here they were purified by dipping their lips and their hands in holy water.

At the bottom of this court was the basilica itself, preceded by a columned peristyle. Eight small windows pierced its façade, leaving room for a mosaic of imperial lustre, Christ enthroned in majesty in his cathedral, between the Virgin Mother, the Prince of Apostles, and the four symbols of the Gospels. At the top of the pediment burned a golden cross. The ensemble of this mosaic, by its grandiose composition, by the splendour of its many colours, especially the liberal use of blue and of gold, "prepared the spirit" as Saint Paulinus tells us, "for the holy mysteries which were performed below."

The faithful entered the temple by drawing aside one of the purple curtains which closed the five gates, to behold the blue and golden clearness of mosaics, intersecting and multiplying infinitely under their eyes, the quincuncial columns of white marble, green marble, red porphyry, of the receding rows separating the five naves. Towards the bottom, more mosaics, again a "triumph"—an arch forming a screen the width of the basilica and bearing on its background of azure three effigies, Christ, Saint Peter, and, in this instance, the emperor himself, this "demi-god" as Victor Hugo calls him. A Latin couplet, quite mediocre, serves to express the intention, grateful and majestic at once, of the emperor:

*Quod duce te mundus surrexit in astra triumphans  
Hanc Constantinus Victor tibi condidit aulam*

A last "triumph" in mosaic brightened the apse, Christ in his cathedral, between the apostles Peter and Paul. Over his head are palm trees, from his feet rush "springs of water," the four streams of the Gospels, where the mystic fawns come to quench their thirst. Below this arch, in the *presbyterium* of red porphyry, raised by several steps, the chair of Saint Peter was erected, the cathedral where the first popes officiated and instructed, and in front of the chair a monumental altar of silver, weighing 350 pounds, embellished with gold and set with 400 precious stones. Before this jewelled mass extended the choir, preceded by a portico of six alabaster columns entwined with vine branches. They came from the East, from the temple of Jerusalem, and tradition had it that

on one of these columns Jesus had the habit of leaning when he taught in the synagogue.

Finally, between the portico and the altar was the Confession, a low chapel closed with a movable grille. The penitent pushed aside the grille, advanced towards the tomb, opened a small window through which he put his head, and made his request to God for divine intercession. This wicket (*fenestella confessionis*), in fact, opened into a vertical funnel which led to the funerary chamber, or *memoria*, where for three hundred years the first pope, confessor and martyr, was resting.

This chamber, a sort of holy of holies, was entirely covered with plate of gold. The sarcophagus, where the body of the Prince of Apostles reposed, had a cross in massive gold, with two names in letters of silver, those of the Empress Helen and her son, Constantine the Great, a last confession of faith, in the very heart of the church of the emperor become Christian, and at the same time the last public association of the majesty of the Vicar of Christ, Peter, and the majesty of his lieutenant, Cæsar.

However, despite the glorious reign of a Theodosius, the Western Empire declined, and in Rome, more and more, the pope alone represented authority. Likewise the successors of Sylvester showed an altogether imperial zeal, and marvellous perseverance despite the periodic pillage, in enriching the Vatican basilica. Particularly, Saint Leo, who after the fourteen-day sack of Rome by the Vandals, occupied himself first with the basilica, which he restored and embellished in considerable style. He replaced the marble and coloured mosaics of the atrium and the primitive fountain of purification with a pine cone in bronze of antique origin, the celebrated *Pigna* of the streaming scales which can be seen today at another emplacement in the Vatican, within the court which bears its name.

In fact, even as today, the Vatican was erected at the extremity of Rome, and the popes sensibly inhabited the other extreme of the Lateran city where the Emperor Constantine, as we have seen,

had installed Pope Melchiades and where he had constructed a basilica, the *Patriarchium*, where lodged the administration with all its dependencies, and rapidly became a real neighbourhood. In time, when Melchiades, Sylvester, and their successors came to the Vatican to celebrate the liturgical functions, they and their escort, as well as numerous pilgrims, soon found it necessary to have places of shelter, to dress, to refresh themselves, and, when necessary, to pass the night. On the other hand the clerics of the new basilica, the *cubiculares*, or guardians of the tomb of the apostle, also had need of lodging (*camerae*). Construction was not delayed. On both sides of the court of honour, a simple pavilion on the left and a more ample building on the right were erected. These were the *episcopia*. And these are the same *episcopia* (the one on the right at least) which constituted the first piece of the 1,400 chambered palace of the Vatican.

Symmachus, although he is generally called the "aggrandizer," did at least organize the Vatican in a manner quite complete for its epoch, and after the sedition of the anti-Pope Laurent, which forced him to quit the Lateran, he fitted up the *episcopia* for permanent residence for himself, for his court, and for the pontifical services. He therefore truly merits to be called the father of this immense structure, in stone, bronze, and marble, which is for us moderns "the Vatican."

The times which followed were evil. The Western Empire, in the convulsions of its death agony, swept away many popes to imprisonment and death. Arianism and simony corroded the Church. Invasions followed invasions, Greeks, Goths, the Lombards of Alboin and of Agilulf—and to mention invasion means for Rome, almost always massacre, pillage and fire. The popes, however, never lost courage. Pelagius II, while sending the Byzantines and the Franks against the Lombards, did not forget Saint Peter's, and restored the Confession. Saint Gregory the Great, who succeeded him, found Rome in 590, when he took the tiara, devastated by the barbarians, ravaged by the plague, deserted and half dead. He placed himself at the head of a procession which went over the Seven Hills, invoking divine compassion. And



behold, just as he crossed the Tiber he fell on his knees; for he had seen on the summit of Hadrian's mausoleum the destroying archangel replacing his flaming sword in its shield. He then undertook a prodigious work, to embattle the entire world against simony, paganism, heresy; fight for the affirmation of the Roman primacy against the pretensions of the patriarch of Constantinople; fight the barbarians with the influences of their own queens, the Theodelindes, the Gundiберges, the Reccaredes and the Brunehauts, and at the same time reorganize the liturgy and the cloisters, while not forgetting Saint Peter of the Vatican, which he presented with a tabernacle of silver and new timber chosen in the woods of Calabria.

After Honorius, pontiff magnificent, Rome again fell into atrophy and despair—invasions, pillage, plagues. The *Basileus* of Byzantium, Constant II, arriving to "defend" the Church, stole its last treasures. For the basilica there was but one change. John IV, for the purpose of housing the veil of Saint Veronica, constructed a chapel in mosaics of soft colours near the entrance on the right. The chapel was dedicated to the Virgin, but this Virgin stood majestically upright in her imperial vestments, with a diadem in the form of a tiara; it was the empress of Byzantium, the wife of Basil. Thus the seal placed by Constantine on the outward forms of the cult passed from Rome to Constantinople, but the imperial mark remained; it awaited a new inheritor, who would be a son of the *maires* of Austrasie and who would call himself Charlemagne.

But before the Renaissance, which constituted for the Church, as for the state, the rule of the great Carlovingian emperor, the papacy had to undergo another long and strenuous assault. At the end of the Orient, hothouse of religions, of myths and of heresies, a new doctrine had germinated, that of the Iconoclasts, for whom the worship of images—statues, paintings, mosaics—was an outrage, the removal of the true God from religion. The new school paid no attention to the disputes more or less vehement, more or less passionate, among the theologians; it aroused

the conscience and invaded it with a veritable fury. Throughout the East the Iconoclasts seized hammer and torch, carrying by assault the most venerable *Panaghias*, the basilicas and chapels which were burned like so much straw; the Christs and the saints were overthrown, trampled, smashed to bits. And over these actions the *Basileus* of Byzantium, inspired by their patriarchs, extended the royal purple. Leo the Isaurian by his edict of 725, Constantine Copronymus, and, a hundred years later, Leo the Armenian, declared the war against the images holy. The West itself seemed seized by this fever of expurgation which so easily turned into rage for destruction. At length the influence of empresses (as with the barbarians)—of Irene, of Theodora, and the action of the Nicean Council, quelled the disturbances. But from the beginning of the uprising, the popes came to the defence of the heritage of the Christian centuries and the statue of Saint Peter in the Vatican was their conclusive argument. In 729 Gregory II wrote to Leo the Isaurian, protesting his edict: "The entire West brings its tribute of veneration to the sacred Prince of the Apostles. . . . If you attempt to destroy his image we will remain innocent of the blood which will fall on your head." Later, despite the disdainful oversight of Rome's warnings by the *Basileus* of Byzantium, Gregory III, who had encircled his brow with the tiara (731), convoked a council which excommunicated the Iconoclasts. It was held in the basilica of the Vatican itself. It proved a blessing, moreover, for the city of Rome. Proscribed in Constantinople, the treasures of the artisans of the East poured into Rome.

But the many diverse developments did not prevent the basilica, especially the large building, from suffering from the ravages of time. It was left for Hadrian I and Leo III to rebuild, to repair, to restore. And in this field, as in the political field, they could depend powerfully on the allies of the past half-century, the Carolingian kings, and on the person of their greatest representative, Charlemagne. He had inherited from his father, Pepin the Short, the title of *patrice*, or protector, of the Romans, and he

bore it with honour. On many occasions he visited Rome, "his city," first as protector, then as emperor, betraying uncommon qualities of intelligence, of taste, and of organization. He collaborated directly with the popes Hadrian I and Leo III; he began the service of inspection of ecclesiastical buildings, roofs, pavements, paintings, mosaics, all scrupulously watched and repaired. In Saint Peter's, menaced by ruin, vast works were undertaken by Hadrian and continued to completion. The large portico which joined the Tiber and the basilica was again flagstoned, all in that white stone, strong and tight, which is called *travertin*, and tests the centuries. The stairway of the façade and the peristyle of the atrium were rebuilt. The atrium, open until now, was closed with bronze doors. The woodwork of the roof was altogether changed and the tiles attached one to the other by *fibulae* of lead. In the choir was suspended a gigantic sconce of silver in the form of a cross which carried 360 lamps and which were kindled four times in the year, at Christmas, at Easter, at the feast of Saint Peter and at the feast of the pope.

But at the Confession the sumptuousness of pope and emperor found free scope; it was surrounded by a gold grille, its floor was covered with silver flagstones, its walls disappeared under plates of cut gold where the engravers' tool of Greek artisans, famous for their craft, represented the episodes of the Scriptures. The altar was enriched with two bas-reliefs in driven gold, on one Christ confiding the sheep and the lambs to Saint Peter; on the other, Saint Peter delivering the spiritual and temporal power to the pope and the emperor; to the first he hands the pall, to the second the standard.

Leo III proved himself an indefatigable restorer. Moreover, he found the means to enrich the Confession with new treasures, flagstones, and statues of gold. He also constructed in the *episcopia* a new dining-room (*triclinium*) and in the ancient circus of Nero, just at the side of Saint Peter's, he constructed a shelter, a hospital, and baths for the pilgrims of the basilica, many of whom came from far away.

However, through all these works, one finds more wealth, more barbarian magnificence, than good taste. Aix-la-Chapelle, Rome, Byzantium, had given hundreds, thousands of artisans, technicians, sculptors, engravers, but artists of originality and sensibility, creative souls, there were none. For the arts, the age of iron began. Likewise in the political field Christianity entered into the hard centuries. Less than fifty years after the death of Charlemagne the Empire was in pieces, left in feeble hands, incapable of assuring the minimum of order or protection for its vassals. The flashing Carolingian renaissance, in a few decades, fell into a deep long night.

In 846 the Christian world passed through a terrible ordeal. The Saracens, repulsed in Gaul by Charles Martel, installed themselves at the gates of the Empire, in Sicily. Profiting by the long summer days, their vessels sailed towards Ostia, which they took in August, then began the assault of Rome, which resisted, protected by the wall of Aurelius. But the Vatican and the Borgo, situated outside and without sufficient defence, were captured. The veneration or the fear which kept the Goths, the Huns, or the Vandals from the threshold of the Apostle, played no rôle with the new invaders. The basilica was profaned. The treasures of centuries of piety and the gifts accumulated from all the world were pillaged. What could not be used as booty was torn and broken. And when the Eastern flood swept back, the altars and even the very doors had disappeared.

The consternation throughout Christianity over this sacrilege had at least one immediate effect. Leo IV, the moment Christian arms had defeated the green standards at Ostia, did not hesitate to restore the splendour of the devastated basilica; he took a great decision, to enclose all of transteverine Rome within a wall as strong as that built by Aurelius. Aided by the Emperor Lothair and the contributions of all Christianity, he placed the first stone in 848 and achieved his labour in 852. It was a formidable rampart. From Hadrian's tomb up to the basilica it formed a continuous

enclosure forty feet in height. Twenty-four towers reinforced the principal points and three gates pierced it, giving access to the "City" thus constituted, which immediately received the name of its fortifier, the Leonine City.

Behind these ramparts was sheltered the heart of the Church, and later its head—it was the first rough draft of the City of the Vatican.

After Leo IV, night began, broken only by intervals of glorious light such as the pontificate of Gregory VII. But the sun for the papacy did not rise every day over the donjons of Canossa. The Emperor Henry IV of Hohenstaufen, having risen from that kneeling which had preserved for him the empire of 1084, captured Rome after a siege of three years. The Normans of Robert Guiscard, who delivered it, increased the incendiarism. Meanwhile civil war and pillage became endemic. The Roman families and their followers transformed the ancient buildings of the city into fortresses. The Pierleoni, the Orsini, the Frangipani, the Savelli, the Gaetani, the Colonna, truly divided the soil of Rome, and the Vatican was no better than a fief of the Orsini. But despite all we must note several additions to our Vatican hill which are credited to the "Three" popes, Eugene III, Clement III, Celestin III, Innocent III, and Nicholas III.

Eugene III, pope of the Third Crusade, built a new pontifical palace; but the war of the German emperors against the papacy broke out again after Frederick Barbarossa in 1155 refused to hold the stirrup of the pope, as was the custom, and in 1167 there was a new attack on Rome. Saint Peter's, fortified and armed, held out well for a week. But Barbarossa rained Greek fire on the roof of the basilica, which caught, and later the five gates were smashed with the axe. The defenders still resisted, step by step, within the nave. The battle raged at the very confessional of Saint Peter, and the killing did not end until the blood of the last soldier of Pope Alexander poured in warm rivulets over the tomb of the Apostle.

Eugene III's palace, the entire village, were more thoroughly pillaged by the Germans of the twelfth century than by the Saracens of the ninth, and moreover, on the 1st of August, Frederick Barbarossa and his wife, Beatrice, had themselves crowned again by their anti-Pope Victor IV in that same nave of Saint Peter's of the Vatican. Then the plague smote the battalions and the devastated city was delivered.

Very quickly Clement III and his successor, Celestin III, repaired and restored the Vatican, then the throne of Saint Peter was occupied by a man of only thirty-seven years, the great Innocent III, the Leo XIII of the Middle Ages. Neither the crusades, nor the council, nor arbitrating peace among Christian princes, let him forget the hill of the Vatican. He rebuilt the mosaics of the apse of the basilica as well as the atrium, enlarged the palace, extended the ramparts solidly, and in the Borgo, which came to bear the name Borgo San Spirito, he built a vast Hospital of the Holy Spirit, magnificent for its time, for the infirm, the paralysed, and for abandoned children, and endowed it. And watching more and more pilgrims journeying to the tomb of the Apostle, he extended the work of Leo III.

As for Nicholas III, less illustrious but more enterprising (was it not he who sent legates to Mongolia?), he became known in the Vatican as one of the pope-architects. He planned the formal gardens, surrounded them with new ramparts, constructed a safety passage between San't Angelo and the Vatican through which, in case of danger, the sovereign pontiff could reach the fortress, which in fact frequently resisted all assaults. Finally, Nicholas III enlarged the Vatican, which with its groves and little hill far from the Lateran of the turbulent streets and easy uprisings, was becoming an oasis of freshness and of peace. (But the successors of Nicholas III sometimes remained deaf to the appeal of this new palace; in fact, the official and permanent dwelling of the popes was always the Lateran.) So at the beginning of the fourteenth century, when the Lateran burned down, the Vatican

was still not chosen. In 1303, however, the comforts of the latter, and above all its security, gained for it, if one may employ the word here, its first pontifical "residence"; it sheltered not the popes themselves, but the conclave from which the pious Dominican Boccasini came forth under the name of Benedict XI, first of the fifty-and-one conclaves which up to the present have been held in the Vatican.

The reader will understand, by what has preceded, that with its basilica, its chapels, its oratories, its palace, its towers, ramparts, gardens, its habitable houses, its shops, its baths, its hospices, the Vatican had developed considerably, up to the banks of the Tiber. In fact, when the "French" popes left Rome for Avignon the Vatican had already expanded into a veritable city.

The seven pontiffs resident in the palace of Avignon, successors to those non-Roman popes who multiplied after Urban IV and his French cardinals, counted among them great administrators and saints, but it was in Avignon that they served the Church, and from the treasure of Saint Peter they took only a thin purse for work in Rome, such as for the roofing of the Vatican basilica which Benedict XII completed in 1341. For the Eternal City one must await the year 1376.

The seventy years of the "Babylon captivity" passed. At the call of a young daughter of Siena, Catharine Benincase, sheltered under the black veil of the Dominicans, a young political and religious genius, Pierre Roger, the last French pope, who bore the name Gregory XI, quit the banks of the Rhone, where Christianity believed him a prisoner, for the banks of the Tiber, where no king seemed to guard over his liberty. He entered Rome and sought a dwelling worthy of the sovereign pontificate. The Lateran, burned and abandoned, seemed in too far gone a state. He therefore installed himself in the Vatican, which was less damaged, and on the other hand so calm and shadowy. And it is thus, by a double accident in history, the burning of the Lateran and the papacy of Avignon, that the Vatican ceased to be an

agglomeration of buildings above a sanctuary, and became the habitual dwelling of the head of the Church and the permanent centre of its universal government.

Gregory XI remained in the Vatican, brought architects, painters, and sculptors to prelude a series of great works undertaken later by the popes of the Renaissance. From the beginning it had been the need of defence rather than taste in the arts which animated the builders of the Vatican. Trouble began with the second conclave, held there in 1378, composed of thirteen French cardinals as compared to sixteen "creatures" (in the true sense) of the Avignon popes. As they prepared to find a successor to Gregory XI, who had just died, the cries of mutiny in arms, led by a Borgo apothecary, were heard penetrating the very atrium of the Vatican, "If you do not elect a Roman pope, we will make your heads as red as your hats!"

They named a "Roman" pope: *Romano lo volemo!* It was a Neapolitan, Barthelemeo Prignano, archbishop of Bari. But this half-concession of the French cardinals did not settle the matter for long. Urban VI, the new pope, was full of zeal, overfull, in fact, and his ardour for reform quickly shocked the cardinals, who declared his election null (vitiated by the uprising) and elected an anti-pope, Robert of Geneva, who took the name of Clement VII and installed himself in Avignon, where he received the obedience of France, of Spain, and of Scotland, while Urban VI lived in Rome, at the Vatican, where he guarded the obedience of the majority of the other countries.

That was the beginning of schism, the Great Schism, which divided Western Christianity. For exactly forty years two popes, one in Rome, one in Avignon, successor to Urban, successor to Clement, divided the conscience of Christianity.

An attempt at reconciliation in 1409, at Pisa, by accepting the resignation of both popes with the substitution of another, Alexander V, only aggravated matters. The two popes, "in possession of the state," maintained themselves, while the "compromise" pope



did the same. An unforeseen result of an effort for unity: the schism continued worse than ever and the two popes had become three. Schism was not ended until 1417 at the Council of Constance, where the reunited cardinals elected Cardinal Othon Colonna, who took the name Martin V.

It is therefore not astonishing that during the Great Schism, and facing two rivals, Boniface IX occupied himself first with consolidating the fortified enclosure of the Vatican, and at the beginning of the fifteenth century with reconstructing the superstructure of San Angelo which the Italians of Urban VI had ruined.

It is not astonishing that in the same situation and in the same spirit one of his successors, the "pope of Pisa," John XXII, restored the safety passage which connected the castle of San't Angelo to the Vatican. John's preoccupations were nothing chimerical. In 1413, in fact, the Neapolitans made him take flight, and Rome once again—one cannot number these atrocious occurrences—was put under fire and sword. Fire destroyed everything which the troopers could not pillage. Even bones were thrown to the winds. The Leonine City was nothing but a mass of ruins. In Saint Peter's itself the sacristy was despoiled, horses were hitched to the doors of the nave, cavaliers bivouacked between the altars, and when they left there followed a long period of desolation, equal to that of Tyre and Babylon. Debris barred entrance to Saint Peter's, whose walls collapsed in places and the wolves of the countryside came into the deserted gardens of the Vatican at night, digging up bodies in the neighbouring cemetery in their search for food.

When the schism ended, the Renaissance began, during the reign of Martin V. From this time on it was Florence, mother of arts and letters, which gave its laws to Rome itself. Florentine artists, as once Byzantine artists, came to execute the popes' commands in painting, statues, engraving, or adornments. And the popes, docile, even enthusiastic before the violent awakening of the ancient sap which made the old tree of the Christian Middle

Age crackle, placed at the service of these artists their good taste, their power, and their gold.

Martin V cleaned the city. Thanks to this pope, people could now circulate in the streets of Rome *mirabile visu* without losing their feet in the filth, without catching the plague, without being stabbed in the dark. In the Vatican he repaired the roof of the basilica and the palace from foundation to summit. However, Martin did not live in the Vatican, but installed himself in the Colonna palace which he had constructed close to the Church of the Twelve Apostles. His successor, Eugene IV, began to embellish the Vatican. In 1445 the basilica was given enormous bronze doors covered with indigo-blue enamel, more "rich" than elegant, on which the artist Antonio Filarete, with the incongruous taste of his epoch, had no fear of framing the figures of Christ, the Virgin, and Saints Peter and Paul, with scenes from mythological legends and even the animals from the fables of Æsop. The pope, true son of the Renaissance, was not shocked. However, nobler works pay honour to the glory of Eugene IV: the lateral gates of Saint Peter's sculptured in polychromatic wood by Antonio of Viterbo; the tabernacle by Donatello; the chapel of the Holy Sacrament (destroyed by Paul III a century later to make room for the Royal Hall) for which he commanded the paintings of Angelico, called here from his convent at Saint Mark's; restoration of the pontifical chair ruined by its exile in Florence. Its coverings of unique marble had been stripped. Such brigandage was still current.

And now we come to the pope who with Julius II and Leo X was a father of the modern Vatican—Nicholas V. Now the Vatican began to take on the shape, the architectural disposition, which it is today. It was this pope who decided to install there definitely not only the pontifical court, but also all the organs of the government of the Church. It was this pope who, among others, conceived this vast edifice as the indispensable adjunct of the public faith. The authority of the Church, he said, is imposed on those

"who by study have learned its origin and its developments." But they are few in number. The mass, although it relies on the savants, has need to be "moved by beautiful things" and to "strengthen from day to day" its faith through "durable monuments, and by eternal evidence, so to speak." Thus Saint Paulinus had already said of the Vatican atrium that "the sense of beauty which penetrates the eyes prepared the spirit for the holy mysteries which are performed below." With Nicholas, the apologetic force of beauty, of grandeur, of secular duration, became the foundation of a veritable system of pontifical government. It was because of this that Nicholas V, pope and architect, architect because pope—becomes a character unique in the history of the popes. With incomparable clearness he saw the vision of a city of God on earth, presenting in the midst of the profane quarters of Rome, by its Leonine City and by the heart of this city, the Holy Zion of the Vatican. This city must be materially powerful (it was the successor of an exiled pope who spoke) in order to assure liberty for the pontificate. It must be learned (here the humanist is heard) in order to assure purity at the source of the Faith. Finally it must be beautiful and great (here is the language of the friend of art, a member of the Tuscan court) and develop by its magnificence the monuments of piety of the Christian people.

The great plan which he discussed with the architects, Rossellino of Florence and Alberti, which only the shortness of his reign kept from fulfilment, completed this "imperial" conception of the Roman pontificate. From the Castle of San't Angelo there would be three large streets arcaded (like the rue de Rivoli in Paris), the street level for business and the upper level lodging the pontifical court. These three streets would lead into the centre of a vast Piazza of Saint Peter, at the left the presbytery of the basilica, at the right a portico leading to the palace. Nero's obelisk would occupy the centre of this square, flanked by the statues of the four Evangelists, and itself bearing Christ offering his cross to the world. At the bottom, two campaniles would flank a new and sumptuous entrance stairway. Saint Peter's itself would be

reconstructed and enlarged and covered with a dome and a light tower, Florentine style, fifty metres in height. Constantine's windows would be replaced by stained glass similar to that of the Duomo, Santa Maria del Fiori, of Florence.

It will be noted that there is hardly a single one of these ideas—the three streets, the large square, the obelisk in the centre, the cross on the obelisk, the two towers, the dome of St. Peter's, the reconstruction—which have not been taken into consideration in the course of centuries, and honoured in one form or another by realization.

The most extraordinary idea was the reconstruction of Saint Peter's. The Constantine Basilica had been the most venerable monument of Christian faith and the house itself of the Prince of Apostles. Throughout the ages we have seen its ancient roof destroyed, only to rise again amid the ruins of invasions. Now it would be necessary to destroy this immense reliquary. Would Christian piety, Roman patriotism, approve such a sacrilege? The pope himself, torn between the past and the future, seemed unable to solve the problem. But one day he made his firm decision and Alberti's wreckers attacked the wall of the apse. The new choir arose by the 24th of March, 1455, when Nicholas lay down to die, and the work was interrupted until Julius II came to the throne. But it had been considerable.

Nicholas V accomplished most in the palace of the Vatican. Here again his senses were lured by plans of pontifical grandeur: behind impregnable walls, courts, gardens, fountains, a theatre, halls of state, a chapel, a library, public rooms, and finally the apartments of the pope. All this Nicholas largely constructed. The three stories of the left wing of the Court of Saint Damasus are his, and particularly the celebrated chambers, or *stanze*, where he lived, and which were decorated, before Raphael's time, by the greatest artists of the period. For his workroom, known as the Chapel of Nicholas V, he wanted the brush of his favourite painter, a Florentine who was called "a new Apples" and "the painter of Christ," Fra Angelico. This painter, at the end of his

career, traced here, in frescoes which are perhaps the most beautiful through their suavity and mastery, the life of two great martyrs, Stephen and Laurence.

Finally, glory among the glories of Nicholas V, this pope united the first elements of the Vatican library. Truly it could be said, when he died, that this pope, old and detached from personal greatness but full of the greatness of the Church, had served it marvellously. "If I had money," he once said before becoming pope, "I would spend it all on books and monuments." If the Church and world today admire this prodigious Vatican, triple treasure of buildings, library, and works of art, they owe it primarily to Nicholas V, the first and the greatest, perhaps, of Christian humanists.

And now the movement was under way. The popes might be absorbed in grave political preoccupations, the battle against the Turks who had captured Constantinople, the re-establishment of harmony between Christian princes, the deliverance of Italy, torn by civil wars and ravaged by incursions from abroad, but they remained intrepidly in the movement of the Renaissance. In Rome, under the impulse of Nicholas, they showed themselves as generous, as hospitable, towards artists and savants as the Estes in Ferrara, the Sforzas in Milan, and the Medici in Florence.

In one instance, Calixtus III, the first Borgia pope, a pious and energetic pontiff at seventy-seven, concentrated all the power of the papacy in war against the Turks, masters of Constantinople, whom John Hunyadi had checked at Belgrade in 1456, but soon the Renaissance resumed its dominating advance with Æneas Sylvius Piccolomini—Pius II—humanist, romancer, less a collector of stones than of books, who bought the oldest manuscripts with golden prizes. It confirmed itself again with Paul II, cardinal of St. Mark's, who left the Vatican for his Venetian palace (today the office of the Duce Mussolini), and transformed it into a museum where he passionately collected furniture, medals, intaglios, cameos, liturgical objects, all these items carefully catalogued. As for precious stones, it was a Golconda. It was said he had a tiara

worth 150,000 ducats. But these collections, at least in part, were destined to return to the Vatican.

And now we come to the astonishing history of Francesco della Rovere, who was elected pope in 1471 under the name Sixtus IV. He was a poor Franciscan friar, so poor that the day he was made a cardinal he had no lodging for the night, but he was rich in learning. Throughout the Christian world there is not an academy, a university, or a college which does not honour the master of dogmatic theology in the venerable author of the difficult treatises on the *Immaculate Conception* and on the "contingent future." But from the moment he adjusted the tiara, the powerful head of Francesco della Rovere was metamorphosed. Effortlessly the austere dogmatist adapted himself to the most temporal tasks of government. Not only did the new pope defend the Church from the Turks, but he launched himself into violent battles against the Colonna, against the Medici, against Naples, and against Venice. Not only did he celebrate the religious festivals most magnificently, but he gave *carte blanche* to his nephews to organize lay *fêtes*; receptions, festivals, hunts, carnivals. But what interests us most, he changed the aspect of Rome and reconstructed the Vatican. This son of Poverello, perhaps exhibiting his true nature, revealed himself to the stupefied world as a lucid and willing creator. This pope who at the call of the Sacred College was drawn from the shadows of a monastery library, became a pope in arms, a chief like Napoleon.

Once the war was over, the conspiracies, the *fêtes*, the embellishments and new constructions became important. This former son of Dame Poverty took the money where he found it, regardless of means. Selling the collections of Paul II, accumulating privileges, a fruitful jubilee, indulgences, he found everything just, in order to face the enormous expenditures which he had bravely undertaken, and this humanist advanced without scruples into the ruins of the Coliseum, taking the white limestone for his gates and for his palace. Rome was cleaned and pierced by new streets, notably the Via Sistina from the bridge of San't Angelo to Saint Peter's,

and paved under the "dictatorship" of the French camerlingo, Guillaume d'Estouteville. Markets, bridges, fountains, churches, palaces, and museums multiplied. The Hospice of the Holy Spirit was restored and decorated. And two masterpieces, spiritual works, stand out above this mass of profane and gilded activity, the Vatican Library and the Sistine Chapel.

A library had already existed from the time of Nicholas V, but it was the private room of the pope. Sixtus IV enlarged it and brought the number of manuscripts from Nicholas' 360 up to 3,650, confiding the library to Platina, its first prefect, a noted, although not always orthodox, humanist. It was lodged on the ground floor of the Vatican, just below the future apartments of the Borgias, in three sumptuous chambers decorated with frescoes by Melozzo of Forli, and ornamented with marble, porphyry, Venetian glass, and gilded sunken panels. Moreover, the pope opened it to scholars, who found therein desks, benches, and chests of marquetry sculptured by two Florentines, the brothers de Dolci, Giovannino and Marco.

Two years after his arrival, Sixtus IV undertook to build the Sistine. Giovannino de Dolci brought into its construction the sober and robust lines of military skill, this architect having already fortified the villages of Ronciglione and Civitavecchia. A phalanx of artists (before Michelangelo who did the ceiling and the back wall) partook of this immense work, among them Pinturicchio, Perugino, Botticelli, Ghirlandajo. The twenty-week contract lengthened into twenty months, despite the reprimands of the furious pontiff, who came into the chapel, now converted into a studio, to press the slow artists. He himself gave orders for the composition of the frescoes: history of Moses, history of Christ, history of Saint Peter, the Assumption of the Virgin, thus including the essential theology of the Church (which he had already treated on parchment), a marvellous catechism in stone, in figures, and in colour.

Whatever reservations one might have concerning Sixtus IV,

his expenditures, his wars, his nepotism, his violence, his tyranny, it must be admitted he had, at least, will and creative powers. To the magnificent but inanimate plans of Nicholas V he gave the bones and the flesh of living beings, and so if the Vatican today had its seed in the brain of Nicholas V, it is in the will of Sixtus IV that it passed its laborious childhood. (Because of advancing age and perhaps also because of his attachment to his Chapel, Sixtus did not worry about building the new Saint Peter's, but he maintained it, strengthening the walls, the interior woodwork, enlarging the sacristy, building a new chapel of the Virgin, a tabernacle, and two statues in solid silver, the Saint Peter and Saint Paul sculptured by Verrocchio.)

After Sixtus IV, nepotism and corruption reigned without constraint in the Roman court up to the time of the unfolded scandals during the pontificate of Alexander VI. The gentle and feeble Innocent VIII at least built something destined to cause repercussions in the future of the Vatican. At the bottom of the gardens, on a little hill, three hundred metres away, he ordered Jacques de Pietrasanta (a predestined name for a pontifical architect) to construct, at a cost of about 60,000 ducats, a sort of square and crenellated tower which would serve as shelter from the summer heat. Again Pinturicchio and Mantegna did the frescoes. Vasari recounts a curious anecdote. Mantegna, painting the cardinal virtues and thinking how rare the subsidies of Innocent had become, added a figure. When the astonished pope demanded her name, he replied, "Economy." "Very well," replied Innocent, "and to place her in good company, add one of Patience." Mantegna never asked for more money.

The tower well deserved its name, *bel vedere*. But in the history of the Vatican its importance lies elsewhere: when the popes undertook to unite this *villino* to the palace proper, the immense constructions necessary constituted the new Vatican.

Alexander VI, second Borgia pope, attempting to economize like Innocent VIII, proved himself no less sumptuous and intelligent a pontiff. He knew less of art and gave fewer instructions to



the artists. However, his "participation" in the Vatican was considerable, and if he turned to chanting his own glory and the glory of his family, the artists made of it a beautiful and imperishable work. He added to the Leonine City, joining the San Angelo Bridge and Saint Peter's by a large straight street which bears his name, the Via Alessandrina. To the fountain in the piazza, which had been constructed by his predecessor, he added the golden bulls, heraldic animals of the Borgias, and to the Loggia of the Benedictions, between Saint Peter's and the palace of Nicholas V, a third story in the form of a portico. In the palace itself he let the brush of Pinturicchio ennoble the six rooms which formed the famous Borgia apartment and which are now the *chef-d'œuvre* of the Umbrian school. *Chef-d'œuvre*, likewise of the Italian Renaissance, fine, sumptuous, voluptuous, and steeped in antiquity is the Hall of the Sybils, which leads to the hall of the Credo, where the streamers carry the symbols of Nicea. The hall of the liberal arts is the glorification of study: *trivium* (grammar, rhetoric, dialectic) and *quadrivium* (arithmetic, music, geometry, astronomy). Each is a beautiful woman, gracefully enthroned, standard-bearers of the savants of hoariest antiquity. The hall of the Saints which follows offers a diversity of exquisite choice of hagiographic episodes. And the favourite painter of the Borgia pope took care not to omit him in the lineaments of a lord, the celebrated Cæsar, while in those of the virgin Saint Catherine of Alexandria are the no less celebrated traits of Lucrezia. Moreover, in one of these reliefs of Byzantine stucco which astonished the painters of this time was an arch of triumph bearing the bull of the Borgias. In the vault, between Saint Sebastian and Saint Anthony, between the chaste Suzanne and the Holy Virgin, Pinturicchio tranquilly unfolded the myth of Osiris and Isis, without forgetting, naturally, the ox of Apis, another mention of bulls. But it was in the hall before the last (the last, or hall of the Pontiffs had a zodiacal ceiling filled with mythology) that the Borgia took the lion's share. This is the room of the Virgin and of Christ, whose life history in seven frescoes flanks that of the Resurrection. But the halberdiers who guard the rich

sarcophagus from which Christ rises in a glory of gold are soldiers of the Borgias, and at his feet, kneeling, with hands joined, but with head raised in passionate gaze, is Alexander VI, contemplating the scene regally. On the greensward sparkle the gems of the triple tiara, symbol of his power. The same spirit of domination was betrayed in the frescoes, now missing, which the same pope had Pinturicchio execute in the Castle of San't Angelo; they were devoted principally to Alexander VI and Charles VIII, showing the King of France kissing the pope's slipper, taking the oath of obedience, serving at the mass, and holding the pope's stirrup as was the custom for German emperors.

In Julius II the ardent blood of Della Rovere came back to the pontificate. The new pope was energetic and bellicose, like his uncle Sixtus IV. He had the passionate love of the glory of Italy which he hoped to unite under the white-and-yellow standard of the Holy See. He warred without stopping until he became known as the Soldier-Pope. But at the same time he had the good sense and the violent taste for grandeur. For his mausoleum he wanted the apse of Saint Peter's, but a new Saint Peter's, a gigantic Saint Peter's. And without the scruples that restrained Nicholas V, he called the most famous architect, Bramanti, and on the 18th of April, 1506, placed the first stone of the basilica of today. All the glory of the ancient basilica, the tombs, the altars, the mosaics, were demolished, razed, within a few weeks.

The work was entirely new because the powerful Bramanti resolutely rejected all the former plans for "continuation," those of Alberti, San Gallo, and Michelangelo, and created an immense edifice he thought worthy of the glory of the papacy. It was in the form of a Greek cross with equal arms, the crossing (the confessional) to be crowned with a majestic cupola supported on three rows of columns, a grandiose conception, but of its time and strictly "antique"; it was the cupola of the Pantheon which was being placed among the vaulted arches of the baths of Diocletian. About the new basilica, Bramanti razed the buildings of the first centuries of the Middle Ages, opening an immense

space which circled the temple like an aureole. Around the Vatican hill he built a larger wall, all in marble. Seventy thousand ducats were spent by Julius II for the first constructions on this plan.

On the other hand, in the pontifical palace Bramanti was content to lay the foundations for centuries to come. We have already spoken of the summer villa, the Belvedere, three hundred yards away, built by Innocent VIII. Julius II had the grandiose idea to unite the buildings in one harmonious architectural ensemble, and Bramanti satisfied it with elegant and magnificent invention; building an elongated quadrilateral, resting on one side at the villa, on the other on the composite walls of the palace, and enclosing all in long antique galleries. The interior was divided into three-storied courts, with stairways, fountains, grottos, flower-beds, and assembled amid the gardens, and like them open to all, were the famous works of antiquity, the Apollo, the Laocoon, the Ariadne, the Venus, and that torso of Hercules which Michelangelo called the inspiration of his chisel. This gigantic and magnificent work, too "temporal," perhaps, was the foundation of the glory of the pope, and the architect, because it was he who first gave unity and majesty to the Vatican palace.

It is not the sole work glorifying Julius II. With like sumptuousness he equalled the prodigious enlargement of the Vatican. Again, as with Bramanti, he "pinned" himself to a powerful temperament, that of Michelangelo, disciple of the ardent Dante and of Savonarola. Despite the quarrels and the rage which traversed it frequently, the collaboration was quite productive, and to it we owe the frescoes of the Sistine Chapel.

At first Julius II only intended to order Michelangelo to build a superhuman mausoleum for him. It was the year 1505, the year he ascended the throne, when his first thought was of his tomb. In 1508 he ordered Michelangelo to paint the Sistine. The great Florentine had gained fame as a sculptor after finishing the Pietà of the Vatican basilica, and was noted as an architect, but hardly known as a painter, especially in fresco, so the question arises as to whether the ageing Bramanti, disturbed by the formidable genius

seen in this young man, had not inspired the order of the pope in the double purpose of embarrassing him in a dangerous field and at the same time showing by contrast the shining glory of his, Bramanti's, favourite pupil, Raphael, who was working with him in a near-by room. There is nothing unlikely in this hypothesis. However, either the Machiavellianism of a rival or the artistic divination of the pope, perhaps the two, resulted in Michelangelo coming through the test into a veritable triumph. The word is not too strong when one considers that he fought this prodigious battle by himself. Alone he put together the timbers and planks which became his habitation by day and by night. Alone he conceived that gigantic epic of Humanity before the Christ, portraying episodes from the day of the Creation. Alone he wrote on the ceiling with an extraordinary brush, the brush of a sculptor, strong yet supple, with decision and with rapidity. For more than two years, without seeing anyone, sleeping a few hours on his mattress, he lived on the scaffolding, high above the floor, his head thrown back, his neck stretched, the veins swollen, his face, his eyes, and beard spotted with colour which dripped from his raised brush. From time to time the pope, as tremulous as he, came to harass the artist in his lair, and the furious artist put the pope out, the latter threatening to send this painter, who had the humour of a wolf, back to Florence. But at the beginning of August, 1510, the monster became human; he had finished the main work. Slowly, as in a torpor, he descended painfully from his scaffold. Anchylosis had stiffened his neck so he could not see his feet, and to read he had to hold the paper above his head. Now the sound of hammers was heard under the arches hastily detaching the aerial studio, but hardly had the noise ceased when a cry of admiration arose. Julius and his entourage saluted the genius of the brush, which had revealed itself equal, perhaps superior, to the superhuman chisel. August 14th the pope, beaming, chanted the first vespers of the Assumption, *Pulchra es et decora, filia Jerusalem*. Michelangelo enjoyed his triumph for an instant, then, still crippled, he replaced the timbers and climbed up to complete the ceiling; in this work two more years rolled by. When

for the last time he descended, he was thirty-eight; he had begun his solitary labour at thirty-three. This titanic fresco had devoured four years of his time, years of triumphant maturity during which he knew but one love, painting. But painting was enough for his soul; it was his passion, his fury, and his happiness.

While Michelangelo was immortalizing the Sistine, another painter, even younger, was decorating the new apartments of the pope. (Julius' apartments were above the Borgia apartments, which he gave up in 1505, opening the upper story, formerly that of Nicholas V, where in 1508 he had a dozen painters at work.) Raphael, who had begun frescoes with the chevroned masters, Signorelli, Perugini, Sodoma, found himself hailed as their superior at the age of twenty-six. Although he had helpers, as is known, the chambers confided to him all bear, at least in design, the present mark of his genius—a happy genius, facile, inventive, nourished in antique learning and in corporal beauty, rather than Christian fervour, which perfectly paralleled the Triumph of the Eucharist with the pagan philosophies of the School of Athens. The same mastery, the same dramatic character, is found in these chambers. Julius II, then Leo X, gave Raphael historic subjects, their own histories, which make the frescoes “key” paintings. (Thus, when Raphael showed the punishment of Heliодorus who pillaged the temple of Jerusalem, all the world understood it meant the French, driven from upper Italy by Julius II.) Among Raphael's other work must be mentioned the design for the ten tapestries, the Acts of the Apostles. The job of “superintendent” of pontifical pleasures fell on other shoulders, and also lightly touched those of this amiable, ingenious, and always smiling man who supervised the decoration of the Vatican, directed the architectural work of the palace and the basilica, where he had much to do in consolidating the pillars and arcs of Bramanti, looked after the ancient papers and statues, did everything which such an egoist as Leo X felt he had the right to demand of a factotum of genius, as, for example, the painting of banners for a cortège or the arrangement of a holiday procession, or the restoration of

the lineaments of his favourite elephant. Michelangelo all this time kept himself in a sort of exile.

But if the brilliance of this reign is fragile, it extends to everything, to letters and to art. The Roman throne, in the eyes of the world, appeared surrounded with the greatest artists and the greatest writers of the age. The pope who at the same time lavished attentions upon Ariosto, Bembo, and Sannazaro, as well as Raphael, is worthy of leaving for his century the name "Century of Leo X."

"All the charmers of the time," writes Melchior de Vogue, "met in the sanctuary of virtue; it appeared as if a new religion, the religion of Beauty, was about to surpass the ancient ones with the multiplicity of its miracles. The most astonishing miracle was that the papacy survived without failure this long feast of profane glory, a hundred times as dangerous as the era of persecutions."

For one instant this voluptuous euphony was shattered by Adrian VI, the last pope in history who was not an Italian. This Hollander from Utrecht, former teacher of Charles V, an honest man, was frightened as much by the waste of treasure as by the Protestant revolution. He stopped all expenses and locked the Belvedere. But ten months later Clement VII, a new Medici, succeeded him, and festivals returned, carefree, breathless under the stars and the blue sky . . . but the days of iron had arrived.

Happy Rome did not hear the sounds of the armed bands of the terrible Lutheran Fronsberg who had appeared in Italy with his pillagers. He was carrying with him an iron chain with which he said he proposed to strangle the pope. The Bourbon high constable, traitor to the king of France, he who had received the insulting contempt of the dying Bayard, brought Fronsberg strategic plans, and soon enough his soldiers were at the gates of Rome—"Carnage! Destruction! Blood! Bourbon!" The sack of 1527 was more atrocious, perhaps, than that of the Saracens and Vandals. Men massacred, women violated, children tortured, houses demolished, the chalices, the ciborium, the tiara, the chasubles, the paintings, the missals, profaned and stolen, then all

the ruins consumed by fire; it was the desolation of Tyre and Babylon, of that Babylon which the Protestant preachers compared to the Rome of Julius II and Leo X.

The interruption of work at the Vatican ended when Clement VII recalled Michelangelo, who was laden with honours by Paul III, the Farnese pope, and in 1535 named first architect, sculptor, and painter of the sacred palace. He received 1,200 gold ecus a year. The first thought of this new dictator of the *beaux-arts* was to complete the Sistine by decorating the back wall, but it was not until Christmas, 1541, six years later, that the great fresco of the Last Judgment appeared, a gigantic diptych where the avenging God chooses the elect and destroys the wicked. But no living person has seen that "fury of anatomy" as Michelangelo completed it, stark naked, without excepting Christ and the Virgin. The Council of Trent, vigorously reacting against the sensuality of the pagan Renaissance, exaggerated its interference in matters of art. Paul IV was asked to destroy the Last Judgment. But he simply engaged Daniel de Volterre, who, without displaying any talent, merely clad the most vivid nudes and was justly punished by the appellation of his time, which has remained to this day, "painter of drawers."

Meanwhile the Vatican was transformed. Paul III demolished the old apartments of Nicholas V and opened the royal hall. The construction of Saint Peter's went on. Paul III spent 250,000 ecus. The plan of the architect of the basilica, San Gallo, proving too complicated and too heavy, made no progress. In 1547 Michelangelo succeeded San Gallo. He was seventy-two. But what were seventy-two years for a Michelangelo? His gigantic hands, while completing the court of the Belvedere, opening the ducal hall alongside the royal hall, constructing a charming casino in the gardens in the antique style of Pius IV, completely rebuilt the pillars of Bramanti, and now certain of their strength, bravely launched the work on the famous dome and rested only when touched by death, in the midst of their work, at eighty-nine.

Death had touched Michelangelo, but the master had so well divided his work, had left such precise and luminous plans that

twenty-five years later his successor, Giacomo della Porta, needed but a few months to complete the cupola. That will remain one of the glories of the powerful pontificate of Sixtus V, who achieved many in the course of his five years, both in Church construction and in its interior organization.

Less pleasing was the mad idea—was it de Fontana's or that of Sixtus himself?—to "demolish" the court of the Belvedere, that beautiful rectangle a thousand feet long, cutting it perpendicularly as one cuts an "H," with a new construction. Without doubt this building, the library, in itself a very beautiful and vast gallery with two naves joined by "palm" pillars, was worth, with its frescoes, the 250,000 ecus which the pope had spent on it. But the perspective and the proportions of Bramanti were lost forever, an error for which lovers of art will never be consoled.

The greatest claim to fame of Sixtus V as an architect was not realized in the Vatican itself, but in the dome of Saint Peter's. On May 14, 1590, the Romans could contemplate with admiration this achievement at once powerful and light, this perfect dome which is perhaps the most beautiful in the world and which has "inspired" many others in other lands, and of which the Val-de-Grâce in Paris is a faithful reproduction.

For the Romans the greatest marvel which Sixtus offered was the obelisk of Caligula. This "needle," in the middle of the Neronian circus, had had as its neighbour in 67 (this is the traditional date, but the researches of Monsignor Duchesne prove it to be 64) the cross upon which, with his head down, the Apostle Peter suffered hours of agony. Sixtus V resolved to give the obelisk the place of honour. The Romans watched, stupefied, on the 10th of September, 1586, while the arrow of rose granite was slowly lowered upon a long platform. There was not a sound, not a word. The operation was perilous and the pope had given the order for silence, on pain of death.

Then on thirty rollers the obelisk majestically traversed the short distance separating the ancient Neronian *Spina* from the axis of the piazza of Saint Peter's, but the eight winches turned



by sixteen horses and eighty men had to strain at the ropes before the formidable mass of granite moved. Then, for an instant it appeared as if it would break the ropes, fall and shatter to bits. Suddenly, despite the penalty of death, a workman shouted, "Wet the cables," and this was done immediately. The ropes contracted, the winches moved, and the great rose needle, still threatening to fall and break, settled into the socket which had been prepared for it, amid the delirious shouting of the mob.

Sixtus then christened this pagan monument. On the ball which had crowned the obelisk he mounted a cross of bronze in which he had enclosed a piece of the true cross and, permitting the imperial dedication, "*Divo Cæsari*," to remain, he added five lines to the pedestal, in honour of the new cross on the summit: "*Ecce crux Domini. Fugite, partes adversae. Vincit Leo de tribu Juda*" ("Behold the cross of the Lord. Let the enemy flee. The lion of the tribe of Judah conquers").

With Sixtus V the bulk of the Vatican, palace and basilica, was realized. The popes who followed had but to finish, to complete, put in order. But this was not as simple or devoid of merit as one might imagine.

Clement VIII concluded the work of Sixtus: the palace, to which he added a third floor, the library, to which he gave details, and the basilica, where he constructed the chapel projected by Michelangelo, the Clementine Chapel. Actually it was his successor, Paul V, who completed Saint Peter's. With more sumptuousness than taste, the new pope had the nave of the basilica elongated so that it ceased to be a Greek cross and became Latin, much too long and out of perspective, and he laid on a gigantic façade, a sort of Greek portico, as little "churchly" as possible despite its colossal statues of Christ and the Apostles which peopled the attic. In truth this grandiose façade seems to have been made especially for its triumphal inscription, which it bears in full centre, separating the names of Christ and that of the Prince of Apostles with the name of the sovereign pontiff, the Pope Paul V, Borghesi. Of the Saint Peter's of Constantine, of the true Christian basilica,

what now remained amid these heavy splendours? Almost nothing. The attack of Julius II against the cradle of the faith at least left the lines of the architecture, the covering, which was a reminder. Paul V destroyed them.

But the long road does not end here. Saint Peter's was to suffer more serious disasters with the arrival of the Chevalier Bernini, who disfigured at one stroke the great nave, with a colossal dais which all the world knows: tortured columns, *passementeries*, chubby-cheeked angels, all in bronze, the apse with its celebrated *gloria* where doctors and seraphim gesticulate nobly in an artificial wind, all in bronze; and even the façade with two baroque clocks which public good sense called "the jackass ears of Bernini" and which have happily disappeared. Terrible luxury, to deliver so beautiful a temple and an altar to an artist who was lacking in nothing—but artistic taste! In one case, however, his endowments served him well, when he inspired that famous colonnade, a bit too well stocked, perhaps, but, despite all, vast and noble. To tell the truth the architect of Alexander VII had planned to close it in front, but circumstances prevented this, and the colonnade, with its magnificent perspective of Saint Peter's, remains "open."

From now on the Vatican assumes its definitive aspect, if one may speak of definitiveness in a place where more construction has taken place throughout the epochs than anywhere else. When it was not being enlarged, it was being enriched. In 1775 a beautiful sacristy was added to Saint Peter's. The museum of the Belvedere and later the Pio-Clementin museum, were filled with Roman marble and innumerable works of art. Pius VII opened the lapidary gallery, and after the spoliations of the Revolution and of the Empire, the Vatican Pinacothek; and to house the antiquities he himself purchased, he constructed a second traversal in the Belvedere, the *braccio nuovo*, the new wing. Gregory XVI founded the Etruscan museum. Pius IX enriched the Christian museum and closed the other part of the Court of Saint Damasus with a last wing, lower than the other three, which sheltered a vast stairway joining this court with the entrance of the Vatican,

the *Portone di Bronzo*. Leo XIII enlarged the Vatican library, and with a magnificent gesture restored the Borgia apartments. Pius X constructed housing for schools, the printshop, and personnel, in the Via Santa Anna.

The Lateran pact also has had considerable repercussions in the domain of architecture, profoundly altering the aspect of the hill of the Vatican. The gardens, so well groomed, filled with sunshine and with statues, sylvan and fresh, with the murmurs of hidden water, are giving way to new constructions. The "old" Vatican with its 1,400 rooms, is full, full as an egg, of offices, apartments, and museums. From the library to the storehouse of the Conclave, more and more rooms are necessary to house the various materials of the multiple services of the Vatican. Everywhere possible everything has been compressed in order to shelter the new organs created by the new state of affairs. But other things cannot be hidden, as, for example, the railway station (which one would find unfortunate in the court of the Belvedere) disemboweling the yellow bricks of the walls of Bramanti. Many of the gardens have been covered with workshops, all in white. A spring has been found in the Vatican hill for mixing the mortar. The Vatican woodchopper is deaf to the cry to spare the trees, as deaf as Julius II when he destroyed the ancient basilica of Constantine. Nor can the woodchoppers of 1933 hear anything, with all the hurly-burly which is making the sacred hill as tremulous as a Sheffield steel plant.

The telephone and telegraph office is placed in the left wing of the entrance to the court of Saint Damasus. There is naturally a double telephone system, an interior network for the various services and shops of the city, and an exterior network for "foreign" affairs. The former installation which was but seven lines, has been considerably increased. Vatican City is now the state with the highest proportionate telephone population. The service is excellent. It is broken only in one case—during the conclaves, when the cardinals are "locked" in the Vatican and secrecy reigns supreme.

The post-office now has an annex, quite small, at the left when one enters the city *via* the Borgo. In both offices clerks have quite a task selling variously valued stamps to people of all lands speaking all languages. (A little Esperanto would do them great service, for the visitors do not speak much Latin.) There is not much correspondence, two sacks usually, which are simply handed over to the Italian postal authorities for circulation.

The new Vatican now has a filling station—one lire a tin (of more than a gallon) since there is no state tax, but one must have a "grey card" to buy here. A new tunnel cuts the thick substructures of Bramanti. A gigantic concrete shaft has been built, like the "shaft of Saint Patrick" at the juncture of two roads, one serving for the ascent of carriages and pedestrians, the other for descent. Pedestrians entering the breach at the bottom of the wall of the City find two lifts which pass the circular stairway of the shaft.

On their arrival on the plateau, visitors find the new Pinacothek. It is a vast rectangular building of sober line, plain surfaces, the walls decorated with mosaics and with laurels. In the interior are the exposition-halls and a Raphael room which will evidently house treasures. The lighting is modern. There is a storeroom and a repair shop, with an elevator.

On the road in the gardens surrounding Saint Peter's two dissimilar edifices have been built, one a little square building covered with tiles, resembling Clemenceau's home in the Vendée. The slender pylon at its side makes it easy to recognize. It is the antenna which, thanks to the power generated in the Vatican plant installed in the ancient *Zecca*, near the palace of Nicholas V, permits Pius XI, his distant successor, to address himself freely to the city and to the world. It was here that the first use was made of Edouard Belin's telephotographic invention on the 24th of October, 1931, in the presence of the pope.

Farther on, to the left of Saint Peter's, is an enormous block in brick and stone with sculpture and various ornaments. This sample of official architecture, banal in any land and vexatious in such surroundings, is the palace of the governor, His Excellency

M. Serafini, an upright and distinguished man. The so-called palace contains an "annex," its chapel, even more sculptured. It also houses the apartments destined for royalty. If an American President were to visit the pope he would be invited to live in this palace.

Royalty would not have far to go to their grandiose dwelling. The railway station is a few feet away, magnificent, built in a cul-de-sac, served by a branch of the line from Viterbo which enters through a gigantic bronze gate. The tracks pass the station, run five hundred yards, and enter a newly cut tunnel. The station itself, all in white stone, is built like a hall of honour on high Ionic columns, housing little rooms with windows for the sale of tickets and the checking of baggage.

The station, one may well believe, will serve for no more than official visits. No wonder there are numerous demands among the five hundred inhabitants for the post of station master.

With the mention of the new houses recently completed at the left of the station, on the edge of the city, the lodgings for a certain number of Vatican functionaries, the list of constructions is complete. Station, electric plant, wireless, telephone, all the external signs of the modern world are assembled or compressed here.

The story of the Vatican buildings is also an exploration of its history. It emphasizes the uninterrupted, unwearied, and truly prodigious effort which that succession of men who form the papacy have employed to give a material foundation for the Church of Rome.

A conscientious effort certainly, but deliberately, no. Searching among the pontiffs for those who had not only the power of conception of an architectural plan, but also the vision and the resolute will for *opus vaticanum*, especially adapted for the pontifical organization, one finds but five: Nicholas V with imagination; Sixtus IV, an enthusiast; Julius II, imposing personality; Leo X, sumptuous; and Pius XI, spontaneous. Only two or three have succeeded greatly, even when they did not hesitate to use the pick

before the trowel, to wedge their new conceptions into the settings of the past.

It is the absence of a general plan, this edification empirical and always "timely," in the various constructions, which gives to the palace and the basilica their extraordinary aspect, marvellous and unique. These chambers, these galleries, these chapels, these courts, are in themselves a city, a city made entirely of innumerable additions, sometimes slender, sometimes colossal, but always despite the pillage, the ruins, and the flames, quiet, persevering and serene. About the sacred earth where the martyred Apostles died the popes of each generation have "made" the Vatican like the bees make their hives. True, the hive is varied, but the dissemblances, which appear disconcerting, speak of spirit and heart, because they bear the common sign of art, and they also witness, contribution by contribution, a past heroic, distressful, or sumptuous, of which they are rich in heritage.

Throughout the centuries the will to live has been materialized in the building of the Vatican.

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## CHAPTER III

### *Church vs. State: from Cæsar to the Duce*

FROM THE TIME OF ROMAN EMPERORS TO PRESENT-DAY DICTATORS, the question of the temporal powers of the papacy has never ceased to agitate the world. The popes have ruled both state and Church, they have seen their Church divided, they have made and unmade kings and princes, they have seen their lands taken by armies, and the living inheritor of Peter's crown has but recently found himself again ruler over lands as well as souls.

Conflict between Church and state is coincident with their existence. The state began its war on Christianity when it was still underground; in a comparatively short time armies carrying the cross were at war in many parts of the world—and even nowadays armed uprisings or organized violence often come out of the disputes between temporal and spiritual powers.

"For the historian who reads carefully the lesson of events, Catholicism of the first centuries appears like a communion of churches, numberless and dispersed throughout the world, a communion mystic and concrete, founded on conformity in the Faith, its institutions, and having for its obvious centre of gravity the Church of Rome." These are the lines with which Monsignor Batiffol, a historian who possesses in the finest degree "the sense of Rome," prefaces his work *Le Siècle Apostolique*. And he finds immediate confirmation of this truth in the unexpected testimony of Harnack, who, in his turn, estimates that "all the elements of ulterior evolution for the constitution of the Church were ready at the end of the second century, and even earlier, and with the exception of the Christian emperors, new factors did not inter-

fere. . . . However, the primacy of the Roman Church was already undeniable."

Suetonius testifies that the Christian community in Rome certainly dates from the time of the reign of Claudius, this morbid, sickly and timid sovereign, who from 41 to 54 let himself be ruled by his two wives, the lewd Messalina and later the proud Agrippina, daughter of Germanicus and mother of Nero. But under Claudius the Christians hardly counted. Almost no one gave any notice to this obscure sect, one more among the swarming Moabit or Whitechapel or lower East Side of ancient Rome, and moreover, confounded with the Jews, and like them, received with tolerance and contempt.

Unfortunately, Claudius, this "imbecile dotard" who had replaced a furious madman on the throne (Caligula, the emperor who called Jupiter his brother, who awarded a consulship to his horse, and wished the Roman world had only one head so he could cut it off in one blow), was himself succeeded by another monster, Nero, who atrociously repudiated his tender beginnings as a young emperor.

"Oh, that I had never learned to write," he exclaimed one day when an order for a capital execution was presented to him for signature. This noble aversion to pain and punishment did not last long. Sadism appeared, which exceeded that of Tiberius. The new emperor, surrendering to a desire for murder, assassinated his teacher, Burrhus; Britannicus, his brother; Agrippina, his mother; and Octavia, his wife. The Christian community which had been developing rapidly in Rome furnished him occasion to allow himself and the city more monstrous spectacles. After the burning of Rome he accused the Christians of the crime, dressed many of them in the bloody skins of wild beasts and threw them to the wild dogs, and with more refined cruelty he tied them to stakes, covered them with wax and resin, and when night fell lit these human torches for the illumination of the feasts in his gardens. Saint Paul was beheaded and Saint Peter crucified. Throughout the first three centuries all the popes died martyrs.



Thus, atrociously, began the persecutions which the Christians underwent in Rome and throughout the empire. Such were the first relations between pope and emperor.

However, nothing could stop the rise of Christianity and the development of the Roman community. The Church of Rome in its origin enjoys a certain, but as yet undefined primacy. Its bishops, inheritors of the power of Peter, the "Prince of Apostles," the first of the bishops, judged all litigations and became a court of last resort.

Thus, in the second century Pope Victor I, who occupied the chair of Saint Peter from 193 to 203, decided the delicate question of Easter Day. Asia had celebrated it on the 14th of Nisan, the middle day of the lunar month, but Rome always on a Sunday of the same month. Pope Victor, in announcing the Roman custom to all parts of the world, did no small thing, when one remembers the fury with which certain Orientals have fought for their calendar in our modern times. The paschal quarrel, however, informed the civilized world of the existence of a "confederation" of Christian churches extending from Lyons to Edesse, and finding its centre in Rome, an organized confederation, a hierarchy, and the bulwark against the first heresies, the ebionites, gnostics, nicholaists, and the first schisms. In fact, the first heterodox doctors, the preachers of "novelty," who might find a welcome in an isolated "church," could not count on finding it in a second, because the centre of the episcopate, Rome, quickly alarmed, had given its veto. It was this unity of organization amid so much dissolution which appeared to Renan as "the veritable miracle of the birth of Christianity."

In Rome, as in all other churches, the bishop was elected and consecrated by the clergy, with the consent of the faithful. He was the head of the community, or parish. Numerous neighbouring communities formed an ecclesiastical province at the head of which there was a metropolitan, who had the power eventually

to convoke a deliberative assembly or council of the bishops dependent upon him.

Such an organization could not avoid disquieting the Empire. Although it had previously shown hospitality to the religions of the people it conquered, welcoming and adopting their various divinities within its Pantheon, it decided to combat Christianity as soon as it came to know it well. There, where Jewish monotheism, however contrary to official pantheism, had found tolerance, Christianity did not succeed in achieving city rights. It was because of its attempt at establishing a new domain, the spiritual kingdom, a royalty "which was not of the world," a kingdom which, while paying small tribute to Cæsar, kept the best, the most intimate thing, its conscience, for itself, leaving for the prince nothing but the "external." Instead of presenting itself as a national cult, as an *established* religion, official and therefore controllable, Christianity constituted a state within a state, and threatened, for its own gain, to crack the profound and traditional framework of the Empire. In the strict sense of the word, the progress of the doctrine of Jesus was considered by the Cæsars as a revolution.

But, one may ask, how could Rome be worried by these fleeting shadows of the Catacombs? It was because she could see farther; the furious fear of Nero but preceded the desperation of Domitian twenty years later, who was alarmed by the prodigious progress of Christianity. Twenty years later, and the Roman legate of distant Bithynia (our present Turkey-in-Asia), Pliny, the Younger, confided to the Emperor Trajan, his chief and his friend, the apprehensions of a politician as well as the admiration of a man of few words, face to face with the growing new religion.

It made conquests so rapidly that the Emperor Marcus Aurelius (161-180) believed himself constrained to drop the pen of a philosopher and take up the axe of the persecutor. He hesitated for a moment. When he led his expedition into Bohemia, his army, encircled in the mountains, almost perished from thirst and heat. Then one of his legions knelt in prayer. It was the Fulminant Legion, composed of Christians. Immediately a torrential and

benevolent storm broke over the Roman camp, while sharp hail pelted the camp of the barbarians. The legionaries, their thirst quenched, repulsed the enemy in disarray. Moved by this miracle, the emperor, it is said, stopped his persecutions. But on returning to Rome he fell under the influence of the "old Romans" and renewed his war on the Christians.

In vain. Christianity advanced daily. We have seen it installed in the Roman army—the Christians obeyed every command of Cæsar except when it came to pagan sacrifice—now it reached the very edge of the throne of the Empress Marcia; then it rested with a mother's smile on the cradle of a future emperor, Alexander Severus, who in his private chapel found a place for Jesus Christ.

In truth, the new doctrine, subversive and disquieting, was close to becoming victorious now. Without destroying the powerful and complicated organization of the Empire, it was covering it everywhere. It had penetrated the finest blood-vessels, it dominated the finest ramification of nerves, it rested in the mind and in the heart. And this complete change in substance of this formidable body was made silently from within, without exterior alteration. To give one an idea of the amplitude of this phenomenon, one might compare it to the France of Louis XIV and the Prussia of Frederick II converted to Bolshevism, not only in their public institutions, but also in their spirit and in their hearts. It is that which justifies the shout of triumph raised by the neophyte, Tertullian (who died in 240) in his famous phrase: "We were only born yesterday, but we are filling your empire, the continent and its islands, your cities and your fortresses, your markets and your camps, your palace, your Senate, your Forum: we leave nothing empty but your temples."

Society was thereafter Christianized. No matter now the violent persecutions of Decius and of Diocletian. Decius himself declared, with more lucidity than logic, that he feared his rivals with their legions less than the Bishop of Rome, Fabian, with his Christians.

When, two hundred years earlier, the Emperor Nero, predecessor of Decius, had crucified, head down, the Pope Peter, prede-

cessor of this Fabian, and had dismembered a few Christians, this common punishment had not even been noticed.

The prestige of the bishop of Rome increased when the Emperor Constantine (306-337), with his edict of Milan legalizing Christianity, which was still illegal and at the mercy of the authorities and the mob, abandoned Rome to the pope and established the imperial residence at Byzantium, which became by this act "Constantinople." The possession of Rome represented the possession of the world. It was a sign of double jurisdiction, religious and political, understood universally.

The emperor departed for Constantinople with the letters of the word *Christ* engraved on his own helmet and on the shields of his soldiers. The episode which now changed the traditional uniform is well known. The historian Eusebius recounts that Constantine, marching in 312 against his rival Maxentius, leader of the pagans, saw in the heavens a flaming cross over which he and his whole army could read the words *In hoc signo vinces* (In this sign conquer). The next day Constantine adopted the standard of the cross, or labarum, as the imperial standard, a golden staff, the top of which was crossed by a transverse bar from which hung a rich veil in purple, surmounted with a crown bearing the first letters of the name of Christ in Greek, X P.

Conquering Maxentius, Constantine professed the Faith, the elemental virtues of a Christian. He is also the first of those men of state whose alert intelligences and sometimes genius exempt from prejudice and scruple for having conceived the fruitful union of Empire and Church. By this event the Christian liturgies were covered with a new majesty, with public processions, solemn baptisms, with much incense, truly imperial. The bishop of Rome was magnificently installed by Constantine in the imperial palace of the Lateran, at a time when all roads did really lead to Rome, and he became the centre of the activities of the human race, for even the pagans of the Empire turned towards him as the unique power after the departure of Constantine.

"Surely," writes Monsignor Batiffol in the work already cited,

"the political and historic prestige of Rome, *urbs inclita et romani imperii caput*, as Saint Jerome says (Epistles CXXVIII, 5), was not undeserving the primacy of the bishop of Rome. . . . While it would be true that already in the third century and in the fourth, but fully beginning with the fifth, the spiritual prestige of the bishop of Rome was mingled with the memories of the old city, mistress of the world"; when it appears true that "these memories floated in the air when there was no longer an emperor and when they were attached to the bishop" (two citations from Harnack's *Dogmengeschichte*), it is no less true and significant that the bishop of Rome always affirmed his primacy as an apostolic and not as an imperial privilege, as a prerogative *Cathedrae Petri*, which was in Rome.

However, when the era of persecutions was thus terminated by the possession of Rome by the pope, the departure of Constantine brought the Church new dangers. Byzantium itself prepared to dispute primacy with Rome, and the time approached when, strengthened by the presence of an emperor, although feeble, the patriarch of Byzantium was emboldened to defy the pope. We note, moreover, that before the battle was led by certain Oriental bishops, Byzantinism had to be directed against the pope by an emperor in person.

And presently by Constantine, who had named himself the "outside" bishop. Little by little his protection of the Church became more arbitrary. Under his leadership he convoked the episcopate of the Empire, and he, in person, directed the Council of Nicea, where the bishop of Rome had only his delegates. At least the two priests representing the pope at this great council in 325 showed the three hundred bishops drawn from all parts of the Empire, from Bordeaux to Constantinople, that there could be no œcumenical council (in Greek, *oikeo*, that is to say, *inhabited world*) without the bishop of Rome.

In fact, it was this claim of primacy which appeared more and more intolerable to the Arian bishops of the East (Arius, priest of Alexandria, professed that neither the Word nor the Holy Spirit

was God, but simply superior creations), and while planning to oppose their patriarch to the pope, they incited the Emperor Constans II against Rome. And despite the fact that he found such hard, rugged Western bishops as Hilaire of Poitiers, Eusebius of Vercelli, and Lucifer of Cagliari proclaiming the principle of spiritual independence, "Cæsaropapism" triumphed at the Councils of Rimini (358) and of Constantinople (360). A little while earlier, in 357, Constans II had carried Pope Liberius away to Milan. "How strong do you consider yourself," he asked, "that you dare take the part of Athanasius and trouble the peace of the entire world?" Constans had supported Athanasius, bishop of Alexandria, who, driven out by the Arians, had asked aid of Rome, recognizing in the pope, rather than the emperor, a primacy which was vastly superior to the simple primacy of honour.

With the Emperor Theodosius, the Constantinople See also received a primacy of honour; it was "exalted" above the historic oriental cities. Though the bishop of Rome remained first, there was a constant tendency to make Constantinople, "New Rome," a second see. "The bishop of Constantinople"—there was no question of a patriarch before the sixth century—became a dangerous second to the "bishop of Rome" and almost his equal.

Theodosius aided the patriarchs of the future rather than the emperors. It appears inconceivable, but he himself gave the example of submission when, after the unjustified massacre of the inhabitants of Thessalonica, he found himself refused admission to the Cathedral of Milan by Saint Ambrose. "Halt, Prince!" cried the bishop. "How dare you enter the sanctuary of the avenging God? Your hands are still hot with innocent blood! Withdraw, and commit no sacrilege after so many murders." This was the same bishop of Milan who maintained that in dogma and morals "the bishop judges the emperor, not the emperor the bishop." Theodosius surrendered his arms to him under terms unflattering for the prelates of the East. "Before I knew Ambrose," the emperor said, "I considered him as nothing but a simple bishop."

Only the East could employ this doctrine of Saint Ambrose of the duties of the Christian prince and the *jus sacerdotale*. In the

West the Roman Empire decayed while the papacy saw its authority spread. The prefect of Rome, Pretextat, a very rich pagan, jealous of the prestige of the sovereign pontiff, said to Pope Damasus, "Make me bishop of Rome and I will immediately make myself a Christian!" In 440 the Emperor Valentinian III was reduced to asking Rome to send the Deacon Leo to Gaul to arbitrate the difficulties between the master of the militia and the prefect of the prætorians. Twelve years later this same emperor, resisting the invasions of Attila down to the very court of his palace in Ravenna, tremblingly sheltered his crown behind the tiara of Saint Leo. Twenty more years, nine more emperors, and nothing remained to canalize the torrent of the barbarian invasions, nothing of the Empire of the West but the government of the Roman Church.

Certainly the Church did not await the eruption of the barbarians before it presented them with the Gospels and the Cross. It advanced towards them. Attila had already met its preachers at the outposts of civilization—Saint Aignan at Orléans, Saint Loup at Troyes, Saint Geneviève at Nanterre. Saint Avit had civilized the Burgundians, while at Rheims, Saint Remi baptized Clovis and the Franks. In 596 Pope Saint Gregory the Great sent to Great Britain, where Saint Patrick had passed, forty Benedictine monks under the leadership of Saint Augustine of Canterbury. In the eighth century, thanks to Saint Boniface, the Gospels reached the barbarian Germans, and, thanks to Saint Ludger, the barbarian Saxons. Finally, in the ninth century, it touched the Slavs.

In this way and by these apostolic patrols the formation of modern Europe was accomplished in a thousand years under the influence of Christianity. This same influence in the eighth century also managed to make itself felt as far away as central Asia and in China.

As for the papacy, it definitely supplied the imperial power in Rome. Having become the greatest social and political authority in Italy, the unique queller of the surrounding anarchy and the only possible arbiter of Romans and barbarians, the pope by rea-

son of his eminent services, as well as by reason of the patrimonies of the faithful and his own charitable works, naturally became the Prince of the Romans—*temporal power began*. The political sovereignty of the bishop of Rome, head of the Universal Church, over the "State of Saint Peter" appeared in the eighth century as a condition which all the world recognized. It was shown clearly when Pope Saint Zacharius (741-752) without consulting the Emperor in Constantinople, undertook the defence of Rome and of Ravenna against the Lombards, and when, two years later, Pope Stephen II, menaced by the Lombards of Astolphe, called in the aid of the Franks and of Pepin the Short, whose father, Charles Martel, had already in 732 saved Christianity at the battle of Poitiers.

Charlemagne, son of Pepin, constituted himself *defensor* of the Roman Church. Having inherited the title "protector of Rome," he took under his protection the new pope, Leo III, who had been driven to far-away Paderborn by an uprising. Leo III thereupon decided to give Charles the crown of gold of the "emperors of the West" and did so on the Christmas of 800 in the Vatican basilica, while the people shouted enthusiastically, "To Charles the August, crowned by God, great and peaceful emperor of the Romans, long life and victory!"

It was a deed of incalculable portent. With the imperial crown, Charlemagne received the "advocacy" of the Church, that is to say, the official mission to protect and to defend it. Moreover, with the holy crown of the Roman Empire he became publicly, legally, the suzerain of Rome where the pope (temporally, of course) exercised only the power subordinate to the local sovereign. The emperor agreed to guarantee the liberty of election and to approve the choice of a pope, who could not be consecrated except in the presence of the imperial legate. The pope, on the other hand, retained for himself alone the right to present the imperial crown according to his will, since it was not a crown like the others (France, Italy, Germany), that is to say, a hereditary crown, but a "concordatory" crown depending on pontifical rights. This



arrangement, extremely ingenious, intelligent, and opportune, represented great progress over the simple and unilateral "protection" by Constantine. It was truly a system of mutual co-operation, an entente between two powers; today we would call them Church and State.

In the Eastern Empire, Christianity was more and more disrupted by the Cæsaropapacy of the Byzantine emperors and the politico-religious dictatorship of the patriarchs of Constantinople. Threatening for centuries, the Eastern schism finally arrived. As frequently happens in great events, it was provoked by a simple incident. The priest Photius, creature of the emperor, a genius for blundering, had mounted the patriarchal See of Constantinople. On the protest from Nicholas I of Rome, Photius was deposed, but this submission did not last long. Photius remounted his chair and the quarrel rekindled from Orient to Occident, and burst into flames in 1053, when with a brutal gesture the Patriarch Michael Cerularius closed at one stroke all the Latin churches in Constantinople.

Before this declaration of war, Leo IX attempted to negotiate peace with the legates of the Emperor Constantine Monomachus, who, he knew, was also eager for unity. But Michael succeeded in breaking negotiations, and on the 16th of July, 1054 the representatives of Rome silently advanced to the high altar of Saint Sofia and placed on it the bull of excommunication of the patriarch.

The rupture was complete; it still lasts. It cost the Church of Rome 100,000,000 communicants, that is to say, all the Orient. There remained only the Christians of Armenia and the Maronites of the Lebanon.

In the East, there was conflict of primacy; in the West, conflict of jurisdiction. Without doubt Pepin and Charlemagne brought the definite territorial and judicial form to the Papal States which did not disappear until 1870; but while with one hand they gave temporal power to the papacy (and when necessary withdrew it),

the new emperors of the West with the other hand attempted to "control" the spiritual power. There has always been this multi-form and renascent conflict between pope and emperor. The two "vicars of God" contended for the government of the world. The second phase of the conflict began while Charlemagne was presiding at the councils and designating the bishops. It did not terminate until after Barbarossa.

From the ninth to the eleventh century after the disruption of the Carlovingian Empire, the collapse of feudal society reached such scandalous proportions that Pope John XII in 961 turned to Otho, king of Germany, as to a new Charlemagne. Otho received the imperial crown in Rome, delivered the papacy from the odious yoke of the feudal Italians, but prepared the Church for the tutelage of the German emperors. Then in 1073 a pope arrived who shook off that tutelage for a long time.

In the struggles which occupied the popes of this lugubrious period, rupture with the Greek Church, "quarrels" (or conflicts) of the priesthood and of empire, battles against lay investitures, against simony, against the marriage of priests, against heresies, against schisms, against the anti-popes, against the infidels—against everything—the greatest of all these pontiffs, and perhaps the greatest of all the popes, the powerful Hildebrand chose his field of battle. During many years, by the virtue of his genius and the clearness of his will, he, a simple monk, had been councillor and legate of his predecessors. Elected pope under the name of Gregory VII, he gave all his time to the policy he had for so long inspired, and, thanks to his energy, he was successful at least in part, and in his time, in bringing about those plans for which he had been the brilliant theoretician, the absolute, apparent, and positive independence of the Roman pontificate, the internationalism of pontifical government.

This Declaration of the Rights of the Church, which in our day seems so simple, was a great event: "Every emperor, king, duke, marquis, count, all lay powers (that is to say, non-ecclesiastical) who would presume to give investiture to the bishops or ecclesias-

tical dignitaries, shall be excluded from the Church." The rulers welcomed this sensational warning variously. Philip I of France took it well, but Henry IV of Germany openly rebelled. He made the national council depose Gregory VII and sent him the following letter: "Henry, king, not by usurpation but by the will of God, to Hildebrand, henceforth false monk and non-Pope: Descend! Quit the place which you have usurped! Let the chair of Saint Peter be occupied by another! Descend! Descend!"

Gregory resented this outrage. Undoubtedly he was less touched personally than in his "pontifical patriotism," in his faith in the liberty and grandeur of the Roman pontificate. As a reply to the German Cæsar he went to the papal basilica *par excellence*, the Lateran, and there, turning to the first of all the popes, he addressed these words, less a prayer than an affirmation of sovereign majesty: "Blessed Peter, as your representative I have received from God the power to join and to unjoin in the sky and on the earth. For the honour and the defence of your Church, in the name of the all-powerful God, the Father, the Son, and the Holy Ghost, by your power and by your authority I deny King Henry, who has rebelled against your Church with unheard-of pride, the governorship of Germany and of Italy. I free all Christians from the fidelity they have sworn or might swear to him. I prohibit all persons from serving him as one serves a king. I anathematize him so that all people may know, O Prince of Apostles, that you are Peter and that on this stone the Son of the Living God has built his Church, and that the gates of hell shall not prevail against it. . . ." It is not a man who speaks with this voice of bronze, it is the destroying archangel with a naked sword.

Between the two shepherds of the people the battle began, a battle without mercy and, moreover, undecided—because neither succeeded in deposing his rival. But, between the tiara and the sceptre the dukes and lords did not hesitate; they abandoned Henry, who in the heart of the winter of 1077, with his wife and small child, traversed the snows of the Alps on a sled of ox skins, and took the road to Canossa. For three days Henry rested, feet bare, body covered with the fustian of a penitent, at the castle

where Countess Mathilda had given hospitality to the pope. Finally, by the aid of tears and supplications, he obtained relief from the anathema and was reconciled to the Church.

A hundred years later another scene in the colourful surroundings of Venice renewed the victory of Canossa over the German emperors. Under the portal of Saint Mark's, Frederick Barbarossa, the Germanic Charlemagne, the monarch who claimed to be the sole inheritor of the Roman Cæsars and who would rule all the West, including the pope, in 1177 publicly had to play the vassal before him. He prostrated himself before Alexander III, kissed his feet, then, as a sign of the subordination of civil power to spiritual power, he held the stirrup when the pope mounted his horse. Thus the emperor according to tradition recognized himself as the "equerry" of the pope.

It was reserved for Innocent III to carry papal power still higher. During his long reign (1198-1216) he softened the guilty passion of Philip Augustus for Agnes de Meranie, the ambition of the German emperor Otho IV, the persecution mania of the English John "Lackland," and he crowned his work by arming all Europe against Islam.

But conflicts constantly arose between the two powers which governed the same people. The Germanic Empire was well broken in conflict with the papacy; Philippe-le-Bel of France provoked no less a "quarrel." At his order the States-General of France, convoked for the first time in 1302, declared that "in temporal power the King recognizes no suzerain outside of God." What was denied to the pope was the suzerainty in Christian nations of moral control of their policies, which the Middle Ages up to then had recognized.

The reply of Boniface VIII arrived, peremptorily, identical at bottom with what Gregory VII might have said, but, if one may say so, "supercharged" with all the electricity which swayed the policy of this vehement pontiff: "No king, no communicant whatever, dare deny that he must submit the accounts of his sins to the Sovereign Pontiff." And he excommunicated Philippe, who

in revenge sent two knights, Guillaume de Nogaret and Sciarra Colonna, to arrest the pope in his natal town of Anagni and strike the aged head covered with white hair with an iron gauntlet.

The decadence of the Church began; there was internal enfeeblement and the strengthening of civil power. For three hundred years new disasters, Avignon, the Western schism, the Reformation, mark the principal moments of a decline which did not cease until the day the Church, resolutely turning its back to the Renaissance and the century, found in itself the power to reform and continue its advance.

After the assault of Anagni, from which Boniface VIII died of grief, his successors, French, stayed in Avignon. This new "Babylonian captivity," using an expression which pertains more to literature and national passion than to history, lasted sixty-eight years. From this date the reaction was *nationalization* of the Holy See, which became an autonomous state, with its own interests, stranger (and sometimes hostile) to those of one or another nation. "It was necessary," Imbart de la Tour writes justly in his *Origines de la Reforme*, "that in order to escape from the tutelage and the hostility of the great powers the pope become stranger to all. A pope, French, German, British, or Spanish, would always be suspected of serving the interests of his nation. Thanks to the divisions of the peninsula, an Italian pope could not give umbrage. Rome nationalized itself in order to maintain an internationalism of religion among the states."

In 1377 the papacy left its "Babylonian captivity" only to fall into the anarchy of the Western schism. Up to 1418 there were two popes, one in Rome and the other in Avignon. There was great confusion among the faithful who wished only to obey the legitimate shepherd. When a third conciliatory pope appeared near the end of the schism, and the two others refrained from abdicating, anarchy and disorder increased in a triple division of fidelity.

Eventually the schism was ended with the proclamation of the unique and supreme leader, Martin V, who left no other record of his passage than paragraphs or chapters in historic works. With

the Protestant revolution the unity of Christendom was struck to its foundation and shattered forever.

The "modern" spirit, daughter of civilian authority and university teachings, had ceased to regard the chair of Peter as an intangible throne, elevated above criticism and the masters of the states. Wyclif in England gave the signal for revolt in 1377, and John Huss in Bohemia in 1410. But it was in 1515 with Martin Luther that it broke out in Germany, definitively, while Zwingli prepared Switzerland and France for the Geneva theocracy of Calvin.

An ecclesiastical reform was necessary. At the time of the Council of Vienne (it is Bossuet himself who recounts) a great bishop, Guillaume Durand, ordered by the pope to prepare the meeting, wrote at the head of his program that one must "reform the Church in its body and in its members"—in 1311! This great work, the "Catholic Reformation," was accomplished during the long sessions of the Council of Trent (1545-1547, then 1551-1552, and finally 1562-1563). Two hundred bishops participated, working efficiently, one part for the *definition* of the Faith by dogmatic decrees (or canons), the other for the reform of morals by disciplinary canons. At the same time the old religious orders consecrated themselves to the defence of the Roman faith and the regeneration of the clergy.

The Holy See also organized itself, for the first time, in the diplomatic field. It was a modern church which was being built here, with the wheels and machinery responding to new necessities, and in particular to those which new states, more and more independent, powerful and overpowering, created. Did not the peace of Augsburg canonize this strange maxim of a "sovereign's" absolutism, *cujus regio, hujus religio*, which demanded that in each country the subjects believe that which the prince believes?

Up to then, with rare exceptions, the papacy did not judge it necessary to enter into communication with rulers or states through regular envoys. In the sixteenth century, an important

stage for the Roman Curia, the nuncial system originated. "The sons of Saint Francis and of Saint Dominic," writes Maurice Pernot, "traversed the great roads, passed from country to country, lived in the villages, spoke, observed, mingled with the life of the century; at the service of the Roman Curia they were diplomatic agents of the first rank. Later, when the Society of Jesus was founded many of its members were employed in the same capacity. The Avignon popes commissioned several legates and sometimes received the ambassadors of sovereigns in their court. But the regular institution of papal nuncios and ambassadors was not established before the sixteenth century."

The nuncios became purely political agents. Frequently they were great lords whose birth, education, connexions, easily introduced them to kings and the great, the absolute masters of the new Europe. Evidently more *savoir-faire* than theology was the chief requirement. The result has been a series of diplomats of rank, such as, to name only contemporaries, Pecci, Rampolla, Ferrata, Cerretti.

The nuncios had need in all countries now of all their ability. In the modern governments of Europe the universal primacy of the pope encountered more and more opposition: a Louis XIV who wished, in the celebrated words of Gallic parliamentarians, "to kiss the feet of the pope and bind his hands"; a Joseph II called by the Great Frederick "my brother the sacristan," who would regulate with serenity the minutest ecclesiastic affairs; and again, after the violence of the French Revolution, a Napoleon, who saw nothing in the bishops but "violet-clad prefects" and in the pope nothing more than a superior chaplain, to whom he sent a letter, to the great dismay of the cardinals, to come and crown him at his home. Nor was the emperor satisfied with special favours; wanting all power, even spiritual power, he declared himself Emperor of Rome and demanded the Fisherman's Ring (with which popes seal their decrees) from Pius VII, who, in 1811, was his prisoner at Savona.

The pope sent the ring after he had broken it first. The em-

peror understood later, much, much later, at Saint Helena, the symbol of this broken ring, and that spiritual powers, when seized by earthly powers, become as baubles in their hands.

All other similar great offensives against pontifical sovereignty in the nineteenth century ended in failure. The *Kulturkampf* of Bismarck, the prime minister *summus episcopus* of Berlin, resulted in the triumph of the German Centre Party, arbiter of national politics, which soon began to supply the Reich with numerous chancellors, successors to the chancellor of "blood and iron." The Separation of Church and state in France weighed heavily on the successors of Emile Combes, particularly on Clemenceau, who, in a curious letter, advised Canalejas not to commit a like mistake in Spain. Today relations with the Vatican have been resumed. But a word must be said here of the gravest conflict into which the Vatican has entered in modern times, a conflict on its own territory, which today, at the end of more than nineteen hundred years of Christian history, again raises the question of Church and state in Rome itself.

After the abdication of Napoleon, the Congress of Vienna in 1815 reconstituted the Papal States of Pius VII, but the fear of revolution, aided throughout Italy by the king of Piedmont and Sardinia, Victor Emmanuel, resulted, despite the heroism of the pontifical zouaves, in the invasion of Rome by the Piedmontese of Garibaldi and the break in the Porta Pia on the 20th of September, 1870.

Despoiled of the temporal patrimony which he had possessed for eleven centuries (the gift of the Papal States was made by Pepin in 756), the pope imprisoned himself in the Vatican as a sign of protest. The purpose of the "temporal patrimony" was to assure the visible independence of the papacy, an international and supernational organism. Universal public protestation was a like guaranty. It signified that the annexation of the church lands to the new Kingdom of Italy not only wronged the dignity of the pope and interfered with his functions, but inflicted an injury on world Catholicism.



In vain the statesmen of Italy, for lack of a better reason, declared in easy and peremptory tones that the Roman question was nothing but a problem of internal Italian order, a matter of negotiations between Italy and the Holy See. The popes remained entrenched in their position. From the encyclical *Rescriptores* of Pius IX in 1870 to the encyclical *Ubi arcano Dei* of Pius XI in 1922, they adhered to their viewpoint. But the tone changed slightly. With Benedict XV it had become "Beloved Italy." When the Milan patriot, Pius XI, came to the throne it was clear to observers that times had changed. "This is the pope," wrote one of them, Charles Pichon, in the *Echo de Paris* in February, 1922, "who will solve the Roman question." In fact, Fascist Italy, freed from its anti-clerical *liberalism*, uneasily watching France returning to the Vatican, haunted, too, by Napoleonic memories, sought in turn the official road to the Bronze Gate, which it soon found without difficulty.

But the treaties signed at the Lateran palace February 11, 1929, a veritable renewal of the Carlovingian *advocacy* which we have mentioned before, in giving the Church all rights in Italy under the control and for the profit of "totalitarian" Fascism, concealed spiritual contradictions and the opportunities for litigation which the Roman chancellery marked like the flowers in the cracks of badly built walls.

Youth is today the great stake of many regimes. In the boys' and girls' clubs of the Catholic Action in Italy, a sharp conflict broke out in 1931. To Fascist attacks, depredations, violences, the pope replied with the quasi-excommunication of Fascism. The "man sent by God" of 1929 had become "Satan." "I have had to deal with the devil," said the pope in an allocution to the students of Mondragone College, referring to negotiations with Mussolini in 1931. After that, in September, the adversaries made an armistice they called peace.

But the conflict, in one field or another, will break out tomorrow. And, should the Fascist problem be solved, some other nation with like temperament will begin it, because no durable treaty

can be made between Peter and Cæsar if each claims to represent absolute power, in a different "manner," but over the same mankind. But the result of the game is known in advance, because only one player possesses the fundamental political necessity—duration. And what is worth infinitely more, it knows it. Whatever may be the hazards of the game, it is always the White which wins.

Why the Holy See concedes so many things outside of its principles, and with such relative facility, is now easily explainable: it counts on the future to restore anything it may abandon. "Duplicity," cried the Gauls of Louis Philippe, denouncing the "crafty investments of Rome." Would it not have been more modestly exact to say "cleverness" and "politics"? We understand very well why a motor-car manufacturer sells his car so cheaply so as to make up for it in the sale of parts, or why another gives razors away free so that he can gain a big profit in blades. Should we be scandalized if the papacy, for superior aims and for longer existence, shoots its arrows into the future? Has it not the right to "draw" upon the centuries, after having prodigiously enriched the opening deposit which a mysterious hand had made to its account at the beginning?

## CHAPTER IV

### *The Occupant of the Vatican*

THERE ARE TWO HUNDRED AND SIXTY-SIX LINKS IN THE CHAIN which binds Pius XI to the Apostle Peter, but frequently the links are quite different. To forge this chain all metals have been used, from pure gold to commonest lead, and all sorts of alloys, including the most composite. It is therefore a miracle that this chain has held. (In his discourse to the French Academy, where he succeeded Monsignor Duchesne, the celebrated historian of the papacy, Henri Bremond, explains it thus: "The great popes are no more numerous than great kings, and doubtlessly no more indispensable".) The Fisherman's Ring has not always passed to the finger of a humanist like Leo X, a statesman like Leo XIII, or a solitary like Pius XI. There are many pontiffs "of medium, and especially of practical, worth" one discovers in studying the history, and not the romances, of the popes.

History, true history, is sufficiently dramatic. Glorious or sordid, stagnant or superhuman, it constitutes, between the *Divine Comedy* of a Dante and the *Human Comedy* of a Balzac, the *Comedy of the Tiara*, which passes from the horrible to the sublime and which frequently records nothing more than the mediocre.

It was horror which ruled the century of Formosus, that century of shame, that plunge into feudal anarchy, which led a writer to say that Rome at that time was no more than "an abandoned cemetery, visited by hyenas." In 896 the wicked mother-empress, Algitrude of the house of Spoleto, had Stephen VII elected pope and made him accomplice in an atrocious attack on Pope Formosus, his political enemy, who had just died. The stiffened corpse of the old pontiff was disinterred, dressed with great pain in the

pontifical ornaments, and installed in a sort of chair. Then a trial was held, sentence pronounced, and the body dumped into the muddy Tiber.

Later, at the beginning of the tenth century, two other women, Theodora and Marozia, meddled with Roman affairs so audaciously that it gave substance to the legend of the Popess Jean. The story goes that this young woman of English origin was elected pope at the death of Leo IV in 855, and that the fraud was not discovered for two years. This fable, long discredited, persisted for many centuries. It may be explained by the fondness of the mob for such scandals, and better still by the vehement anti-Roman propaganda which featured the Renaissance.

We pass to the too substantial John XII, a rake who wore the tiara eight years, from 955 to 963, but who at least never attempted from the top of the supreme seat to pronounce the dogmatic words which might have sanctioned his debauchery. The legend of the Popess Jean was supplemented by the legend of the Year One Thousand, which was to prepare Christianity to disappear in the terror of the Last Judgment, by numerous warnings such as wars, famines, comets, untold calamities. Nothing was more exaggerated. All texts prove the contrary; under the pontificate of Sylvester II, who reigned from 999 to 1003, the religious, social, and artistic activity of Christianity did not slacken for a moment.

Another legend is that which makes of Sixtus V (1585-1590) a hypocrite walking on crutches which he threw aside once the tiara had been obtained. But simulation was not necessary for this old shepherd in winning the vote of the conclave. The history of the Church again loses its picturesqueness here, but it gains in depth. This former swineherd waged war against the formidable fire lit sixty years earlier at the gates of Wittenberg, when Luther burned the Bull of Leo X with ceremony, and showed himself a Mæcenas on the throne of Peter, as intelligent, as magnificent, as Julius II or Leo X.

We have seen several of the most violent "jerks" in the history

of the Church, but they have not prevented it from marching in a line, without stopping, straight down to the contemporary popes. It is now time to decide exactly what constitutes pontifical power. To what extent is the pope an absolute sovereign? What, in other words, is the nature of the government of the Church?

In itself and in its management, pontifical power is absolute. In the term "Vicar" of Christ, that is to say, of God, Catholic theology maintains the pope governs the Church by authority committed to him by God himself. In another, different and secondary field, but directly joined to it, that of the government of the Papal States, the pope is an absolute sovereign. There is no parliament, no diet, no supreme court, no States General, no congress, no place for criticisms or for protests. In the rarest instances, as when a king permits himself to make a suggestion, as Alfonso XIII of Spain did, when during a solemn audience he expressed his desire that the pope open membership in the Noble Guard to others than Italian patricians, the Vatican was filled with rumours of this scandal and the diplomats, nuncios, and ambassadors immediately felt the pontifical dissatisfaction. No one on earth, be he emperor, dictator, sultan, or chief of the Russian Cheka, disposes of such absolute power comparable to this Man in White.

In the practical and ordinary routine of government, however, this autocratic power can be moderated slightly and sometimes even softened. Outside of the personal benignity of the majority of the popes, the remarkable fact is that the pontifical absolutism has been limited, tempered, and canalized by several historic factors, of which the principal are the creations of the Roman Congregations, the great religious orders, and the rise of civil power in the principal nations.

The Congregations with extraordinary liberty, conduct and orient their work, their debates, their decisions. The person of the pope may change, the very inspiration of the pontificate may be modified, external conditions may be transformed, even overthrown, but the Congregations remain, with their personnel

rarely renewed, their methods of work approved by usage, their quasi-autonomy consecrated by three centuries of history. It is true the pope may impose his will, but his absolutism is curbed by his inferiors whom he or his predecessors have created with their own hands. (A case in point was the condemnation of Charles Maurras, theoretician of the so-called school of the *Action Française*, by the Congregation of the Index. The pope, Pius X, not wishing to compromise the submission of M. Maurras which he was told he could expect, decided not to publish the decree. But he did not suppress it.) Thus the power from below, democracy, is mingled intimately in harmonious collaboration with autocracy, the power from above.

During the Renaissance the religious Orders blossomed extraordinarily. Frequently they have been compared to a militia; the word especially fits the most illustrious and the most powerful of these militias, the one founded by a soldier, in a military manner, the Society of Jesus, or the Jesuits.

It was discipline, the discipline of active service, which was the basis of this celebrated "company." The Jesuit must obey, with a total obedience, with no more will than a corpse—*perinde ac cadaver*—the leaders to whom he has given himself, and commanding them, the general of the Christian army, the pope. The entire society constitutes but one army corps at the absolute disposition of the Roman pontiff. History shows that this programme has been faithfully fulfilled by the sons of Loyola.

But history also shows that this heroic method, strengthened by rigorous selection, rapidly produced power without precedence. Although it reinforced that of the Roman pope, it attached itself so narrowly to him that in a fashion it somewhat physically displaced his centre of gravity and in the ensemble modified his *habitus*. Some popes regretted, others felicitated themselves, depending on whether they admired or disliked the "temperament" of the Society of Jesus. But first we must understand that we are in the presence of one force joined to another force, producing necessarily in the interior of the body, even if there is inequality of influence, the phenomenon of mutual attraction.

This is exactly what Roman leaders felt perfectly. The general of the Jesuits, installed at the gates of the Vatican, in the Borgo San Spirito, is familiarly, and without any malice, known in Rome as "the Black Pope."

There are other great orders outside the Jesuits, as powerful and frequently more ancient. Many of these orders, in periods of disintegration of the Church, constitute themselves as sustainers of the papacy, and if one may say so, in those times they sustain the feeble body like an iron corset.

The two factors, religious orders and Roman congregations, represent about all the "mitigators" of pontifical absolutism, that is to say, it is up to them to ease and canalize, by internal management. The third factor is external. Civil power generally stops, prohibits; in the Church, civil power is not a motor, it is not even a sail, but it is a brake which loosens more and more.

It was not always so. In those times when nations professed a state religion, the princes ("His Apostolic Majesty," "His Catholic Majesty," "The most Christian King") had precise ideas about temporal matters and looked after the general welfare of the Church, of which they considered themselves the leading members, the "captains," and the pope only the "pilot" or subordinate.

*Tempi passati* . . . The present period is even different from that just before the war. In almost all countries except Russia and Spain anti-clericalism has disappeared or been overshadowed. Cabinet ministers and congressmen no longer recognize religious politics, or if they suspect it, turn to a thousand other problems first. And the Catholic Church, in the numerous concordats which it has signed, no longer holds itself so absolutely to the Catholic etiquette of government. The Separation in France, the separation *à la Américaine* which has spread a little everywhere, seems quite acceptable. In France, M. Gaston Doumergue the first Protestant president, rendered the same services to the Church as the presidents of the Concordat, Grévy and Loubet, who were obligatory Catholics. Only England, Germany, Czechoslovakia, and Lithuania

refuse to permit the Holy See the liberty of unilateral action which it always demands.

To these countries, Fascist Italy, the only great nation which today is officially Catholic, should be joined. (A later chapter is devoted to this subject.) The situation here well illustrates the thesis. It has been observed that M. Briand, who was not seen frequently going to mass, gave less worry to the holy father, and perhaps more pleasure, than this Mussolini who orders youth to be instructed in the theories of religion and just as clearly tells them they must carry the musket.

Such are the counterbalances, diverse, unequal, and variable, which normalize the theoretically unlimited action of pontifical power. From 1870 it was no more than an administrative and spiritual power. No "state" sustained it, and the little given it, the hundred acres of the city of the Vatican, was in a way spiritualised by the smallness of its territory. How, then, was the pontifical sovereignty kept alive after Cadorna's breach in the Porta Pia in September, 1870?

In the minds of the Italian statesmen who prepared the seizure of the Papal States, the abolition of temporal power should lead to the practical disappearance of the pope from the political scene. They took pains to reassure the pope of "full liberty to exercise his high spiritual mission," recognised his right to send envoys and diplomatic representatives to the powers, they accorded him pre-eminence over all other Catholic princes. But all this was the honey on the edge of the saucer; in its centre was hidden the hope and even the certainty that, cut from its soil and reduced to a state purely of belief, the Roman institution would rapidly grow emaciated in the modern atmosphere of "reason" and of "progress." Even if this atrophy should take a little while, they had at least the immediate benefit of having eliminated the chancelleries of the incumbent pontiff from the domain. At least they were rid of the Pius, of the Sixtus, and the Gregory, not only of the past, but of the future. Two country squires of a modest little kingdom, the Count Cavour and the Chevalier Nigra, had finally accom-



plished the proud ostentatious maxim of Westphalian Europe—  
*Silete, theologi, in munere alieno!*

The liberals of the nineteenth century were quite naïve and mediocre Europeans. Inspired by the principle of nationalism, however legitimate, they turned their backs peacefully on the spirit of international collaboration of which the papacy remains now the sole representative. It must be said in their defence that they considered Pius IX, former liberal who had become absolutist, as a traitor, and with much more justice, as an intemperate monarch. But while this explains, it in no way justifies their big mistake.

Let us take the history of the origin of these events in their order. We are in 1861. Cavour, already preoccupied with the isolation of the pontifical government so that he could remain face to face with it alone, was disturbed by the diplomatic dangers of this international group, significant because it was composed of volunteers who had arrived from France, Belgium, Switzerland, and Ireland to defend the common father of the faithful. From his point of view, he was perfectly right; the pontifical zouaves, although recruited partly from most conservative families, in the defence of the papacy, were the incarnation of the two principles, of the dependence of the weak in the face of the land imperialists, and of the free collaboration of nations in the veins of an international power.

Cavour summoned the pontifical government to discharge them, but it took more to realize his dream of suppressing the foreign policy of the Holy See in favor of the 4,000 volunteers of Lamoricière gathered at Castelfidardo; he permitted General Cialdini to lead 70,000 men against them. Into the hands of these men, Ancona, Naples, Gaeta, fell successively. (The heroism and devotion of the papal zouaves has remained legendary.)

When the Parliament of Turin proclaimed Victor Emmanuel II "king of Italy" February 18, 1861, he still had to capture a capital for his kingdom. But this capital could not be Florence, the city of the Lily, with its souvenirs of the Ghibelline wars; it could be

no other than Rome, the Eternal City, the City of the Tiara, the capital of the Christian world. Who would dare place his hand on the centre of universal power as long as a little French force safeguarded its liberty? Garibaldi risked it the first time in 1862, but Victor Emmanuel stopped him, fearing complications with Napoleon III. A second time, in 1867, Garibaldi began the assault on Rome, but was defeated at Mentana by the French corps reinforced by the papal zouaves; according to a famous—and untrue—saying, “the Chassepots (rifles) have worked a miracle.” It took the difficulties France was in, in 1870, when the historical falsehood of Bismarck (the Ems telegram) precipitated a war with Prussia, for her to recall her corps of occupation. Now the government of Victor Emmanuel was no longer afraid, the troops of General Cadorna began the third assault. It was on the 20th of September, 1870. After five hours of bombardment, having proved his resistance, Pius, before blood began to flow, raised the white flag and the Italian soldiers penetrated Rome through the breach in the Porta Pia.

At this moment, Jules Favre a contemporary, recounts that Pius IX appeared alone at the top of the stairway of Saint Peter's to give the soldiers, whom he would never see again, the last benediction. All were seized with a profound emotion. All knelt. In the silence, the troops prostrate, nothing was heard but the voice of an old man lifted sadly to the sky, as if searching there the one and only refuge. The sacrifice was complete. The Italian flag floated on the Castle San't Angelo. After ten centuries and a little more the papacy was transformed.

Pius IX enclosed himself in the palace, and each pope who entered it—Leo XIII, Pius X, Benedict XV and Pius XI—felt he would never leave it except by the door of the tombs. None would, by his presence outside the inviolate walls of the Vatican, sanction the Italian domination of papal territory. None would open the bronze door closed against the outside world as a sign of defence against the usurping power camped under the very win-

dows of the pope. None stopped the permanent protests throughout the world against the violation of territory which was the symbol and the guaranty of independence. This voluntary captivity of more than half a century kept the Roman question alive until such time as an honourable solution was possible. The Vatican could wait.

Did Pius IX cease carrying on his policies? It would be impossible; it would compromise the very life of the Church. The Italians seized the Papal States, they did not take away the means of action, and there remained hundreds of millions of faithful Catholics at the call of the captive pope, his clergy, his episcopacy. Soon another phenomenon was noticed which Cavour had not foreseen. The restraint which Italy exercised over the pope earned for him, throughout the world, sympathy and respect such as no king of the Papal States had ever found. Among Catholics, fidelity to the pope expanded and strengthened.

The statesmen who thought that it was enough to take the pope's territory to chase him forever from the political scene were disillusioned the last years of Pius IX's reign, the first of the new Italian regime. Aided by Cardinal Antonelli, the old pontiff devoted himself to emphasizing his independence in taking a stand against all the established governments, France, Spain, Germany, Belgium, and Switzerland, to mention but a few. Later he realised that his intransigence had taken him too far. "It is time that I depart," he said a little while before death. "Other men are needed and other methods." He died February 7, 1878. One month earlier he had removed excommunication from the man who had dethroned him, Victor Emmanuel, whom he permitted to receive the last sacraments at his request. For himself he asked the hospitality of the Church of Saint Laurence for his remains, to rest there close to the papal zouaves who had fallen in defence of their Church and their chief. But it was with difficulty that he achieved his last asylum; during the funeral procession the populace, incited by crafty persons, arose and attacked the procession, seeking to throw the coffin into the Tiber. This outrage was pre-

vented by considerable effort. Even in the sanctity of death, this aged pontiff, so often hunted, could not find a refuge.

The cardinal camerlingo, Pecci, replaced Pius IX on the throne of Saint Peter, taking the name Leo XIII.

Endowed with the intelligence of a genius and with marvellous diplomatic skill, he refrained from brusquely ending his predecessor's policy of resistance, but he set himself a definite goal from the first hours of his pontificate, to take up relations with the outside world. Pius IX, to underline the independence of the captive papacy, had isolated it, cut it off from the modern world. Leo XIII, on the contrary, sought the rapprochement of the Church and the universe. He had already chosen a collaborator who was his equal, in his secretary of state, Cardinal Rampolla.

The history of the "conquests of the Church" of the nineteenth century is largely the history of the pontificate of Leo XIII, from 1878 to 1903. There was, however, one conquest, or rather reconquest, which he could not make, that of the temporal domain, which he too believed indispensable for the full exercise of pontifical sovereignty.

At least, he was successful in reconciling France and Russia. He was likewise reconciled to the Braganzas in Portugal and the Bourbons in Spain. And not satisfied with the negotiations with Bavaria, Belgium, and Switzerland, he obtained from Bismarck the withdrawal of the May law which was directed against the Catholics of the German Empire. Bismarck recognized his master, played his Catholic cards skilfully from now on, and even flattered the pope-diplomat by asking him to arbitrate the Caroline Islands dispute with Spain.

Leo XIII possessed not only the "Church sense," but, still rarer, the "Papal sense." "I wish to demonstrate," he wrote to his secretary of state in 1887, "that the Church is the best friend and the most generous benefactor of princes and peoples. . . . Between the princes and the people the Church is the inspirer of harmony." To the service of this idea Rampolla dedicated all the power at his disposal. When the pope employed his prestige and his author-

ity for justice and peace, the cardinal secretary of state sought representation for the Holy See at the international peace conference at The Hague. France approved. Italy, always prisoner of its own policy of political exclusion, succeeded in evicting the Holy See, thanks to the support of the Triple Alliance, but the Queen of Holland, herself, informed the sovereign pontiff of the imminent opening of the congress. The holy father, who had bitterly resented the Italian insult, graciously replied to the queen, profiting by the occasion to affirm his right to have a place in the international courts:

"It is our rôle," he wrote in 1899, "not only to lend a moral support to the work of peace, but to co-operate effectively in it."

This will to co-operate was not lacking in any field. We have spoken of Leo's arbitration in the affair of the Carolines; at the end of the century two American republics again gave him the opportunity to play the part of international arbiter. In the meantime, in France, in order to reconcile himself with the Republic, he gave the Catholics the *ralliement*, the hint for political co-operation, and to win Britain to the idea of Church reunion, he attempted the difficult mediation between Catholic Irish and Protestant Ulsterites. Not without success he also interceded with the Tsar for the Polish Catholics. In a few years, thanks to him and to Rampolla, the Vatican lost the appearance of a prison and became the bright summit which the world regarded as the highest pinnacle of diplomacy.

Of the pope's famous encyclical *Rerum novarum* more will be said later. "One of the makers of history had entered on the stage." With each encyclical the dethroned sovereign appeared more and more a universal ruler. Finally, on June 20, 1894, in his letter "to princes and to people of the universe," Leo XIII gave the exact goal of all his activity: "God wills that civil power and religious power remain distinct, but he does not will them to be divided." It was to this magnificent but arduous task that he dedicated his last years.

The beginning was made. Despite the voluntary imprisonment, if not because of it, the papacy after the reorganization of Pius X,

continued its policy of international expansion under Benedict XV, former collaborator of Rampolla, and under Pius XI, the humanist.

Meanwhile the relations between the Holy See and Italy had changed. The new kingdom realized the danger of governing with complete disregard of the Vatican. The secret Treaty of London of 1915, by which the papacy was excluded from future peace negotiations, was the last attack. After the war Italy found it advantageous to ally herself with an enduring and universal power, for the utilization of Italian patriotism. The arrival of Fascism, which replaced the menace of liberalism, and the personal activities of Benito Mussolini, who cultivated Napoleon with his popular gestures, precipitated the movement of conversation, agreement, entente, which had already begun under Benedict XV and Baron Monti. On the 11th of February, 1929, the two powers were reconciled by the famous Lateran pacts—treaty, concordat, and financial accord.

This historic event, certainly advantageous for the Church, is charged with the grave dangers of the Italianization of the Vatican organism. If that menace is realised, it would be the last misfortune of the Church, for it would be then that the occupant of the Vatican would find himself truly a prisoner, and history would justly be more severe with the "Captivity of Rome" than the "Captivity of Avignon."

PART II  
THE POPE



## CHAPTER V

### *Death, Election, Coronation of a Pope*

OTHER MEN DIE IN DARKNESS, IN CONFUSION, AND AMID TEARS; the pope, alone in the world, dies in ceremony. Next to the room where he is dying the high dignitaries of the official family form a guard of honour. Around his bed are grouped the resident cardinals of Rome, standing; one among them, the cardinal grand penitentiary, in accordance with his duties, aids the dying pope. The ceremony is as follows: the monsignor sacristan, who acts as the parish priest of the Vatican, administers the extreme unction, then the cardinal grand penitentiary speaks. It is necessary for the head of the Church in his last hour, to confess the secular faith publicly, and word for word, syllable for syllable, the pope repeats the declaration formulated by the Council of Trent and the Council of the Vatican. The generals of the great religious orders are also present to give the dying man the special indulgences which they have the privilege of conferring. The sacristan repeats the moving prayer for the recommendation of the soul, *Proficiscere, anima christiana* (Depart, Christian soul) and a part of the Gospel of the Passion of the Saviour.

Nor is that all. If the dying man still guards a breath of life, a last duty requires his last efforts—he addresses the assembled cardinals on the condition of the Church, recommends his successor sometimes, as Nicholas V and Pius II did. Rarely does the pope on his deathbed have enough strength to make this last oration, moving as it may be. But almost all the popes, on the other hand, have been strong enough to make the supreme gesture demanded of them—to raise the hand and give the last apostolic benediction.

This done, the pope at last is left to die. The penitentiaries of Saint Peter who are to dress the body arrive, and while waiting



to begin their funerary labours, sing the psalms of penitence. Borne on this incessant rhythm of pious murmurs, the soul of the dying leaves the body, having reviewed its past, onerous service to the universal Church, the ordeal as a bishop, the apostolate of a young priest, a joyful childhood, games, cries, bullying in the school yard. . . .

. . . The pope is dead.

The pope is dead. The penitentiaries, interrupting their psalms to place a white veil over the face, notify the papal physician and the cardinal camerlingo. The doctor writes the death certificate, which is then placed in the archives of the City of the Vatican. The camerlingo, clad in violet mourning, now approaches the bed; in his hand he holds a silver mallet; he raises it while the *valets de chambre* uncover the face, then taps the forehead of the dead man, repeating his name at each tap, not the chosen pontifical name, but the name given him the day of his baptism. If this name, the name his mother murmured with love on her lips, fails to awaken the man who sleeps here, then he is truly dead. . . . The body rests lifeless. The flesh is nothing more than a corpse. The cardinal camerlingo then turns towards his colleagues:

"The Pope is truly dead," he says.

All fall on their knees and recite the *De Profundis*.

This first prayer concluded, the chamberlain removes the ring of Peter the Fisherman from the finger of the pope and gives it to the camerlingo for safekeeping until the first session of the Sacred College, when this symbol of authority will be broken.

At the same time the cardinal chief of the chancellery convokes the principal employes and before them scrapes the matrix with which the papal bulls are sealed.

With this double destruction, no papal act of jurisdiction is now possible and the Sacred College has no other power than the maintenance of administration.

The Church for a few hours has left its head to his own destiny, just time enough to die, parsimoniously counted. She now takes

him, who was once the chief pastor, and after holding him in her arms while he died, she dresses him magnificently so that the glory of his death itself may serve for the edification of the universe.

From the poor and mediocre room where he drew his last breath the pope, dressed, wearing the mitre, is placed on a litter and taken to the throne-room by the Palatine Guard, the *busso-lanti*, the chaplains, the chamberlains, the Noble Guard, and the cardinals, all bearing torches. Then with still greater pomp the body is borne to Saint Peter's, where, in the chapel of the Blessed Sacrament an inclined wooden base has been prepared. The litter is placed on it and four Noble Guards stand at each corner, with drawn swords, immobile as statues in scarlet and gold.

All Rome now takes the road to the basilica of the Vatican.

All the flags of the official buildings are at half mast, their staffs draped with crêpe. But once the great colonnade is crossed, the view is still more unusual. The court is filled with royal troops, bersaglieri, their helmets waving with cock feathers; the Alpini, the Royal Guards, and the carabinieri. Through this canalized manœuvring mass flows such a crowd as one can only see in Rome—patricians and rich strangers whose motor-cars encumber the sides of the piazza, religious orders in robes of all colours, the middle classes, the *borgos* of all the little villages who have invaded Saint Peter's in pious and silent multitudes.

In the interior is again seen the jealous solicitude of the royal government of Italy: soldiers in their grey-green uniforms make a double row up to the chapel of the Blessed Sacrament. Behind the grille of this chapel the Holy See maintains its empire. All can see the four nobles in their red tunics, sabres presented, their dragon helmets on their heads. Farther down, four pontifical gendarmes. At the back, two Swiss Guards in motley costumes, resting on their halberds. Eighteen candles well lit, light the scene, yellowing and changing these men who remain immobile throughout the hours, like statues.

In the midst of all the pomp lies the corpse of which only the face, wan and almost grey, is seen; it is dressed in a red chasuble

embroidered with gold, red slippers, and red gloves, a white *palium* with a black cross, a golden mitre. The cheekbones project from the sunken cheeks, the nose is pinched, the mouth tight, but supreme peace majestically stamps this body which is awaiting its coffin.

In the canons' choir the first of the *Novendiales* are celebrated, that is to say, the first of the funerary services which, by a more than six-hundred-year-old custom, must be celebrated for nine days in succession.

The burial of the pope, called the *tumulation* in the Roman language, is a moving and grandiose event.

Towards three o'clock two rows are formed, one from the altar of the confession to the centre of the nave, the other from the chapel of the Blessed Sacrament, where the body of the pope rests, to the chapel of the canons of Saint Peter's. These two rows form a sort of reversed T.

The diplomatic corps, the Roman patricians, the notable guests, in all several hundred persons, enter the basilica while it is almost deserted. The diplomats pass before the pontifical gendarmes, before the Swiss Guards in their tricoloured costumes, and the Noble Guards in full dress, red tunics, white leather trousers, equerry's boots, white valets' gloves and polished steel helmets, with their black manes flowing. They then pass between two Swiss Guards in red and black guarding the grilles of the canons' chapel, and take seats facing the cardinals in violet, who occupy the high stalls. In the tribunes are the ladies of the diplomatic corps, and at the entrance of the chapel the Roman nobility.

At a quarter past three a calm chant, full and pure, arises from the depths of the basilica. The children of the precentors' choir sing the penitential psalms. When they stop from time to time there can be heard, distant and sad, the death knell which tolls on high, silvery and soft, for the pontiff who is in his shroud.

The cortège is formed. Piously, the pope on a purple stretcher, preceded by the cross and the Vatican seminary, traverse the

width of the Vatican. Before them walk the canons in their violet scarves; about them the valets of the Noble Guard. The sleeping sovereign crosses his palace. But the lineaments are now stricken by death, the over-driven organism is rapidly breaking, the face is creased and the skin hangs loose on the bones. The bearers, despite great care, give a jerky rhythm to the body, and, with memories of the triumphal processions on the *sedia*, this spectacle of a spectral procession with so few onlookers, in this too large Saint Peter's, grips the heart.

Immediately after the general absolution, the body is placed in a triple coffin, cyprus, lead, and elm, at the side of which stand the chief priest of the basilica and the cardinal camerlingo. Two veils of white silk are placed over the face and hands of the pontiff, then the elegy is read in tender and magnificent Latin, recounting the principal acts of the pontificate, and this parchment is placed at the feet of the pope. A great clanking re-echoes from chapel to chapel; it is caused by the taps on the coffin which is sealed, and crossed with silk violet ribbons. The cortège then forms again, no longer around a majestic litter, but around a simple long box covered with a purple pall, and so heavy that the *sediarri* are bent almost down to the ground.

Thus death destroys all majesty. Quickly now the pope moves towards his tomb. All the cardinals are now gathered at the confession. The *sampietrini* lower the coffin on a little wagon into the Vatican grottos and it is rolled up to the place the defunct has chosen. Here it is immured in its brick prison. After the last absolution given by the high priest, a single prelate remains in prayer beside the dead pope.

All is over.

And yet. . . .

And yet the feeling which comes over the spirit of the spectators when they retire at nightfall is not the feeling of bitter and undeceived pessimism.

It is more often the feeling of sadness, sweet and hopeful. The least believing, at this spectacle of the burial of a pope, perceive

that this death of a man halts but does not destroy. The Church, after its tears, again takes the road of life.

The pope is in his tomb. His official family has put aside the violet of mourning. From now on the universal Church and its visible headquarters, the Vatican, live under the provisional administration of the cardinal camerlingo and the Sacred College, regularly united in congregations.

In this double administration there is no longer the rivalry of past centuries. One principle today has the force of law; it is that when the holy chair is vacant no new decisions may be taken—*sede vacante, nihil innovetur*. This rule is so zealously guarded that in 1922, well before the settlement of the Roman question, when Cardinal Gasparri, the camerlingo, thought himself empowered to permit the visit of condolences of two Catholic ministers of the Kingdom of Italy, Signori Rodino and Mauri, a lively incident was produced by the protestations of Cardinal Boggiani.

During the pontifical vacation the Church, however, does not remain without a guide. This man is the former minister of the interior and of finances of the Papal States, the head of the apostolic chamber, the cardinal camerlingo, who for a few days regains his ancient splendour. On the other hand the cardinal secretary of state sees his powers almost disappear, his last act of importance having been the announcement to the diplomatic corps that the pope is dead. Wise pontiffs such as Benedict XV and Pius XI, who did not wish to see superior powers pass from their chosen secretaries, united that office with the camerlingo in one person.

The cardinal camerlingo becomes the master. But he is not alone. He must convoke the preparatory congregation of the heads of the three cardinal orders, bishops, priests, and deacons.<sup>1</sup> These four cardinals now constitute a sort of Church ministry, an executive directory, which has as secretary a prelate who now appears for the first time, the secretary of the Sacred College. In their meetings or congregations all four sit in the same row, all four are sheltered by the same baldachin; when they give audience,

<sup>1</sup>After three days the heads of the cardinal orders are replaced by the second in each order who function for another three days and so on.

the visitor makes the same genuflections to the four as to the pope in person.

However, since the camerlingate of Cardinal Pecci (1878), who became pope under the name Leo XIII, the executive tetrarchy quite effaced itself before the cardinal camerlingo, who frequently showed himself the man in power, leaning on his peers like Bonaparte leaned on the other consuls.

The cardinals (provided they are at least three) therefore constitute, until the election in the conclave, the governing body of the Church, and the faithful kneel at their passage as before the pope. They receive the visits of condolence of the diplomatic corps, and generally conduct all current affairs. The secretary of the Sacred College now has a chance to shine. It was the good fortune of Monsignor Merry del Val on such an occasion in 1903 to impress Cardinal Sarto by his qualities as a polyglot and his bearing as a nobleman; several weeks later Pius X took the young and distinguished prelate as secretary of state and made him a cardinal.

The ten days required between the death of a pope and the conclave were set by the celebrated bull *Ubi periculum* of Gregory X in 1274. (It was not until recently that the time was extended in favour of the Americans.) The election of a pope was not always exclusively reserved to cardinals. Before the bull *Licet et vitando* of Alexander III (1180) clergy and people, emperors and the great families of the Roman nobility, rightly or wrongly, were among the electors. Alexander ruled that only the cardinals (bishops, priests, or deacons) could vote and fixed the majority required at two-thirds.

In Viterbo in the spring of 1271 originated the conclave under lock and key. For two years the seventeen cardinals composing the College had been meeting in deadlock. During this period the Crusade in the East ended in disaster with the defeat of the Christians and the death of Saint Louis. Philippe III, son of Saint Louis, and Charles d'Anjou, his brother, passing through Viterbo,

called the attention of the cardinals to the gravity of the political situation. But despite this warning, despite the exhortations of Saint Bonaventure, who recalled them to their duty as princes of the Church, the electors could not reach an agreement.

So the people of Viterbo decided to intervene; the *podesta*, Albert de Montebono, and the chief of the militia, Ratti (a predestined name) ordered masons to wall up the doors and the windows of the episcopal palace where the seventeen conferred; to see that the wall was not broken, the Savelli, one of the noble families, watched night and day. (The Savelli family were made marshals of the conclave for perpetuity; the honour was inherited by the Chigi.) The cardinals still held out. Two fell ill, fifteen continued to convene.

Finally the exasperated Viterboans removed the roof and fed the electors only bread and water. This resulted in surrender. Still incapable of electing, they named a commission of six cardinals who chose for pope a modest archdeacon from Liège, the energetic and saintly Gregory X.

To obtain a result it required two years, nine months, and two days.

A phenomenon happened which is frequently repeated in the history of the Church. The new pope immediately after election realized that the last vacancy showed the need of a reform. Gregory created the conclave as a regular Roman institution. This was the result of his celebrated bull *Ubi periculum* promulgated July 7, 1274, at the Council of Lyon, and whose principal rules are still in force today.

The essential part of the regulations, which now appear simple, but which were grudgingly accepted by the cardinals, follow:

The cardinals must elect quickly, and for that reason enter into conclave at least ten days after the death of the pope and in the city where it occurred. They must be rigorously separated from the world. But one window must serve them for receiving food. If at the end of three days the pope is not elected, meals are limited to one dish for dinner or supper. If the voting takes another five days, the cardinals are reduced to bread and water and a

little wine. Moreover, the cardinals receive no apostolic salary during conclave. Finally, they must not occupy themselves with anything during the election (except in case of an extreme danger to the Church), and must never engage themselves to vote for this or that candidate.

These strict-enough regulations were quickly broken, and their abrogation automatically returned the abuses of the past—a conclave lasting eight months for Nicholas III, ten months for Nicholas IV (interrupted under pretext of malaria), two years and three months for Celestinus V. Therefore this pope and his successor, Boniface VIII, repeated the bull *Ubi periculum*, whose terms were moreover observed even during the Avignon papacy. Any easing of detail can be noted with difficulty, such as during the election of Clement VI, which permitted, in addition to the single dish for the cardinals, soups, seasonings, salads, jams, cheese, and fruits, under the name *hors-d'œuvre*, and also permitted the cardinals, recently forced into dormitories, the use of curtains "so they could repose decently in their beds." But, all in all, nothing has changed since. One exception was made at the end of the Great Schism in 1417: the Council of Constance decided that the conclave should consist of cardinals named by the three popes, plus five prelates of each of the six nations represented at the Council. This transitory ruling disappeared with the election of the new pope, Martin V. (We may also note the bull of Julius II, *Cum tam divino*, annulling the election of any pope made by simony. No case presented itself.)

With the Renaissance the conclave became closed: but there was practically no seclusion, the ambassadors coming and going, conversing freely with the cardinals of their "party," and the menu of the eminent electors was far from being a single dish *unum duxtaxat ferculum*, stipulated by the wise Gregory X. Therefore in his bull *In eligendis* of 1562, which he took care to have all the cardinals sign, Pius IV scrupulously restored the discipline of the conclave and, being a good psychologist, noted:

"That the Sacred College cannot dispose of any sums, not even for paying the debts of the defunct pope, except the money for



the funeral (which had been fixed at 10,000 ducats), the money for the personnel, and the secured credits of the city and the Papal States;

"That a permanent commission composed of the camerlingo and the three heads of the orders see to the closing of the conclave and the provisional administration of the Church;

"That the rooms of the cardinals are chosen by lot;

"That no cardinal who is not at least a deacon may participate in the election." (This refers to the order of deacons, not to the class of cardinal deacons.)

We must note also that the right of veto which the Christian princes claimed in the conclaves remained down to our own times. Its dramatic use in the conclave of 1903 against Cardinal Rampolla, a reputed francophile, we will describe in full in the chapter on "The Secrets of the Conclave."

Modern conclaves bear all the essential traits of the past. The cells, easily built and demounted, with the famous "curtains" which Clement VI awarded the cardinals, were perfected in 1823 and installed in the Quirinal, but they were used for only four conclaves, because in 1870 the Italian troops entered Rome and that palace became the king's. In 1878, for the conclave of Leo XIII, it was necessary to make "apartments" of two or three rooms out of the vast halls of the Vatican and to house the cardinals everywhere, including the architect's office. This system still prevails. The days immediately following the death of a pope are filled with the crash of hammers and the swish of planes echoing through the sleepest parts of the apostolic palace. Some sixty cardinals and altogether four hundred conclavists must be housed.

In olden times food was brought in from the outside with great Roman pomp, a *maitre d'hôtel*, or *dapifer*, directing everything. He had an important duty to protect the cardinals from poison in their wine, which might quite possibly have happened in those troubled times. The victuals were celebrated. Today it is different. The cooking is done by the Sisters of Saint Martha. It is good cooking, but nothing sumptuous. Many cardinals say it reminds them of their seminary days. There is one good dish, the *zuppa*

*inglesi*, a curious Roman dessert of candied fruits in meringue. Outside of this, veal in all its possible forms, a *pâte*, and on Friday, eggs and *baccalà*. Gone are the eels of the Lake of Bracciano, gone are the pheasants of Castelli which the good Roman peasants brought in homage to the conclaves of 1823 and 1830. *Tempi passati*: the cardinals of the twentieth century have no poison to fear, but, alas, they dine, or rather, they feed, like in a cafeteria.

Having looked at the physical aspects of the conclave, it is time to speak of its religious activity.

It begins with the mass of the Holy Spirit in either the Sistine or the Pauline Chapel. The Noble Guard, the Swiss and the Palatine Guards, are present. All cardinals must participate and receive communion from the hands of the cardinal dean. A secretary reads an allocution in Latin urging promptness and dignity in the choice.

In the afternoon the cardinals in violet enter the conclave. They carry little baggage because modern conclaves are short. At five o'clock they meet in the Sistine Chapel for the *Veni Creator*. They sit on their thrones aligned to the right and left of the choir, each throne covered by a baldachin, emblem of sovereignty. In previous years these baldachins were violet for the cardinals created by the defunct pope, green for the previously created, but with the conclave of Benedict XV of 1914 this was simplified and the baldachin of mourning violet assigned to all. The orisons terminated, the Sacred College receives the serment from the marshal of the conclave, Prince Chigi, and the prelates who guard the towers, then enter their apartments.

Night has fallen. From the highest gallery of the court of Saint Damasus a clock strikes the hour for closing. The traditional cry is heard "*Extra omnes!* (All leave!)"

Below, torches are seen approaching. It is the cortège of the prince-marshal who seeks the cardinal camerlingo and his three assistants. The five, with the dancing lights of the torches, verify the closing of the entrances and exits. The guards herd visitors out. The galleries of the court of Saint Damasus are now free

from strangers; the last door is sealed. The Swiss Guard hoists its new banner; it is the standard of Prince Chigi, perpetual marshal of the Holy Roman Church, now the one responsible head of the apostolic palace.

The conclave begins.

Voting nowadays is quite simple. Each cardinal deposits his ballot, they are counted, and if the necessary majority has been reached, a pope is elected. The vote by *accesso* has apparently been suppressed by Pius X, and the vote by acclamation, by which all the electors pronounce the same name at the same time, exists only in theory.

The ballots are made of specially watermarked paper of which the upper and lower thirds fold into the centre. On one third appear the words *Ego cardinalis . . .* (I, Cardinal . . .), where he writes his name, folds and seals that part. On the other extremity the elector writes a number or a symbol or a phrase, which he likewise folds down and seals with wax. In the centre, the only part of the ballot which may be read, he finds these words printed: *Eligo in summum Pontificem reverendissimum dominum meum cardinalem . . .* (I choose as sovereign pontiff the very reverend Cardinal . . .) Here he fills in the name of his choice. The reverse of the ballot is overprinted with arabesques in the centre, and the words *nomen* and *signa* on the other parts. This is done for two purposes—to make it impossible to read through the paper, and to prevent the tellers from making a mistake and opening the wrong parts.

In front of the Sistine altar a table has been placed, with two silver bowls. Three tellers are chosen, and three who may visit sick cardinals and collect ballots in the "cells." The elector may leave the ballot blank, but he must write in only one name, and he is advised to write in a disguised hand, to assure complete secrecy. One by one in the order of their years the cardinals approach the urn, kneel for a short prayer, arise, lift the ballot above the great silver chalice standing before the tabernacle, and in a firm voice pronounce the formal oath:

"I take as witness Christ our Lord, who one day will be my judge, that I have chosen him whom I believe it my duty towards God to choose" (*Testor Christum Dominum, qui me judicaturus est, me eligere, quem secundum Deum judico eligi debere*).

He then places his ballot on the thin silver disk which serves as a cover for the chalice and which is called the *patene*, slides it into the bowl, bows before the cross, and returns to his throne.

When all the cardinals have voted the first teller takes the chalice and shakes it to mix the votes well, the third teller takes out the papers one by one, counts them, and deposits them in the second chalice. If the number does not coincide with that of the electors, all are immediately burned. After this verification the tellers carry the bowl to the central table, turn their backs to the altar, and seat themselves so that all the cardinals can watch them. The first teller takes out a ballot, opens the middle part and reads the name of the candidate, passes it to the second teller, who does likewise and passes it to the third teller who repeats the name, this time loudly. Immediately the cardinals make notations on the slips of paper printed with the names of all the cardinals.

When all the names have been called and noted, the third teller transfixes the ballots on a spike. If a majority is not reached, the votes are burned in a small stove, high on the right from the entrance door, the smoke arising from the chimney on the chapel roof, visible to all in Saint Peter's Square.

When no result has been reached the ballots are burned with wet straw to give a heavy black smoke. When, in the local expression, "the pope is made" the ballots are burned just as they are, the *sfumata*, white, immediately recognized by the masses outside.

It has often been said, and in fact it is true, that any faithful Catholic may be elected pope. But usage, since 1378, restricts the choice of the Sacred College to the cardinals. In comparatively recent times, in 1740, a religious, but not a cardinal, Father Barberini, received an appreciable number of votes which were not annulled.

Members of the religious orders—Benedictines, Chartreux fathers, Augustinians, Dominicans, and Franciscans—have been elected pope; when one such who is not a bishop has been elected, he is consecrated by the cardinal dean before his coronation. The pope is, in fact, the bishop of Rome; it would be absurd to deprive him of his episcopal character.

Nationality, according to the canon law, plays no part. In the Middle Ages there were French, German, and British popes, as well as Italian, but the Renaissance established the Italian tradition, and after the election of the Dutchman Adrian VI in 1522 this tradition has not been broken.

It is not the custom for a cardinal to declare his candidacy. Certain cardinals always are *papabili*, or in line for the papacy, gifted, possessing talents which call the attention of the Sacred College. The *papeggianti*, on the other hand, are the cardinals who rightly or wrongly encourage the applications of their friends. Some cardinals are put forward by the leading cardinals of the groups, and there are always two, three, or four great electors whose entente, at a given moment, can assure the victory of this or that cardinal.

It was the same jealousy of the dignity of the pontificate that caused Gregory XV to rule that no elector may ever vote for himself. If at any time a pope is elected with just the required two-thirds majority, the part of his ballot marked *signa* makes it possible for the tellers to find and open the *nomen* part of his ballot, and only his ballot, for verification.

When the majority has been reached, it remains for the cardinal to accept the crown. Several have made serious difficulties; Benedict XIII, the Dominican, accepted the pontificate in 1724, only as an order from his general. In 1903 the announcement found Cardinal Sarto quite confounded. It was necessary to put the question to him several times before he accepted. At the last conclave, in 1922, when the cardinal dean, Vincenzo Vannutelli, asked Cardinal Ratti if he accepted the election, the latter replied he would, but on condition that he give the benediction from the

exterior balcony of Saint Peter's, as was the custom before 1870. The cardinals were not enthusiastic, but accepted. This first act of Pius XI can now be regarded as a symbol of the political change which followed.

The new pope having accepted, the other cardinals lower the baldachins which have crowned them and which, until now, have symbolized a like sovereignty. The cardinal dean asks *Quomodo vis vocari*, and the pope gives the name by which he wishes to be called, usually the name of a saint, or of the pope who created him cardinal. While the chief of the ceremonials is preparing the election document, the new pope is led first to the altar, where he prays, then into the sacristy, where one of the three soutanes, large, medium, and small, is chosen to suit his size.

It has become the custom of the newly elected to place the cardinal's red skullcap, for which he no longer finds use, on the head of the prelate secretary of the conclave as a sign of making him a cardinal soon, but Leo XIII, not wishing to see a custom become a right, placed his cap in his pocket.

The pope returns to the Sistine Chapel for the first obedience of the cardinals. In former times the pope sat on the altar to indicate that he and the altar were one, the symbol of Jesus Christ, but more recently the pope has been seated on a chair near the altar, and in the last conclave, in 1922, homage was given him at the throne he occupied when elected.

This homage is called the "adoration," but does not mean the cardinals worship the pope, but simply that they touch with their lips his foot and his hand as a sign of reverence, before they receive the kiss of peace.

Finally the camerlingo places the Fisherman's Ring on the pope's finger, the distinctive sign of his authority up to his death, when it will be broken.

The governor and the marshal of the conclave have opened the entrance of the court of Saint Damasus, and the Palatine and Swiss Guards and pontifical gendarmes have gone on service throughout the palace. But the conclave is still not "open" and

will not be for several hours, until the cardinals and the conclavists have departed.

Outside, in Saint Peter's Square, the mob has waited patiently. Suddenly it sees a tall cross of sparkling gold advancing on the loggia with a prelate in violet, the head of the order of cardinal deacons, behind it. He stretches out his hands and silence follows. "I announce a great joy; we have a pope, the most eminent and the most reverend Lord . . ." He then pauses before announcing the name of the cardinal. The mob shouts, "*Evviva il papa.*" Silence is restored and the cardinal-deacon continues, "Who has taken the name of . . ."

In 1922, for the first time, the solemn benediction to the city and to the world, *Urbi et orbi*, was given from the exterior loggia by Pius XI. Now that the popes are no longer voluntary prisoners, this benediction will be repeated from this balcony by future popes. Few spectacles are as beautiful or as imposing. The king's soldiers, who fill the square, stand at attention. The mounted cavalry forms a square, sabres drawn, in the middle of the piazza, where once the pontifical troops had been placed. On Bernini's colonnade the Noble Guards are stationed in their shining uniforms. The flag of the Palatine Guard, the colours of the Holy See, white and yellow, appear beneath them. When all is ready, the pope arrives.

First, a few red dots are seen. These are the berrettas of the cardinals who precede the Holy Father. Then appear the great cross of gold and the Gospel in red morocco and the candlestick. Then, draped in a large red mantle, the Man in White.

The former cardinal appears in the sovereign majesty of the pontificate, bearing his new power without fear of being crushed by it. His gestures are ample, his voice strong. At ease, as in his cathedral, he intones the first verses, *Sit nomen Domini benedictum*. The people bow and respond, *Amen*. The pope gives absolution, and, extending his hand to make the sign of the cross, continues, *Benedictio Dei omnipotentis, Patris et Filii*. . . . He makes a gesture as if to include all the children of the Church in

the farthest corners of the world. Then he concludes, *Et Spiritus Sancti descendat super vos et maneat semper.*

Hardly has the crowd responded with its *Amen* when *vivas* fill the air. The square is filled with waving white handkerchiefs. The pope, having blessed the diplomatic corps massed on the colonnade, retires.

The crowds disperse, repeating, *Habemus pontificem! Habemus Papam!* And the bells of Saint Peter's, tolling festively, awake, one after another, all the churches of Rome. They chant in bronze and silver, the countryside replies, and soon churches throughout the Christian world echo them.

The coronation of a pope does not invest him with authority, because that is his from the moment of election. It is merely the manifestation of the spiritual and even temporal sovereignty of the pope of Rome. It does not consecrate the pope, but merely places on his head the emblem of sovereignty, the triple tiara which is called the *tiaregno*.

Of the origin of the tiara little is known except that it is evidently Oriental, like the mitre. It is difficult to decide whether it descends from the mitre of the high priest of Israel, who wore a triple crown, or is a transformation of the Phrygian cap which had been given to the Pope Saint Sylvester by Constantine as a symbol of the liberty of the Church.

One thing certain is that the canonical mitre, or *mitra turbinata*, from which the tiara developed, was worn in early times with a circle of gold at its base. This band was doubled to indicate that the pope possessed not only spiritual primacy, but the right of canonical investment of the Cæsars or Kaisers of the Holy Roman Empire who were of Germanic nationality.

The third crown was added by the popes of Avignon, either to symbolize, with the preceding dignity, that of monarchs of the Roman State, or to recall the three varied crowns conceded to the popes by Constantine, by Clovis, and by Charlemagne. There is also a theological explanation which discovers in the three crowns the power over the three churches—militant, persecuted,



and triumphant—or of the doctrine, the sacraments, and the pastorate, or again the three missions of Christ himself as prophet, priest, and pastor.

In former years great regard was attached to this symbolism. Prince Bismarck, to whom a Roman prelate gave the traditional Pauline explanation of the three domains of the Church, *caelestium, terrestrium, et infernorum*, laughed loudly and replied, "For the *caelestium* and the *infernorum* I have nothing to say, but for the *terrestrium* I make my reservations."

In 1888, for the sacerdotal jubilee of Leo XIII, it was suggested to the German Kaiser that he present a tiara. Wilhelm sent a fine enough gift, but it was not a triple crown, but a bishop's mitre. The Catholics of Paris presented the tiara.

In the papal treasury there are other magnificent tiaras. The one in puffed-out form was given to Pius VII by Napoleon to thank him for coming to crown him at Notre Dame de Paris. Another, more conical, in the form of a beehive, is the one the Catholics of Milan presented their archbishop, Cardinal Ratti, when he became Pius XI. The coronation tiara is set with 146 precious stones in many colours, 11 diamonds and 6 rows of pearls.

Seen from the exterior of Saint Peter's the coronation is a thing of joyfulness and triumph. The square begins to fill at six in the morning with a happy, shouting, and laughing crowd which flows into the basilica. For several days the office of the major-domo of the sacred palace has been besieged with tumult and protestation while tickets are given out. An extraordinary traffic follows, tickets reaching 3,000 lire each. At the last coronation only 34,000 tickets were printed, but Saint Peter's housed 50,000 persons, while 20,000 more, too late to enter, remained outside, although they also had their tickets. Forgers had been active.

The majestic ceremony begins. The pomp of the Holy See, crystallized at the time of the apogee of temporal power, has not altered for four centuries and makes a spectacle for the 50,000, the grandeur of which will never be forgotten.

It is more than the unparalleled enthusiasm of the masses, it is the confirmation of the extraordinary greatness of the Holy See

in this world. In the apse, facing the papal family and the Roman nobility, the ambassadors of twenty-four nations bear witness of the spiritual power of the pope throughout the universe. The power of the past is invoked by the Knights of Malta in their great uniforms of white barred with the large black cordons.

The preparations for the ceremony have been made at the altar of the Confession. There is a beautiful *pallium*, a kind of thick stole of gros-grain silk entirely in white except for the appliqué lace in the form of a cross and the two extremities, which are of black wool; three large "pins" made of brilliants ten centimetres long hold it, one with a ruby, the other two with emerald heads. Next, the gold reeds for taking the wine from the chalice, as in the days when the pontiffs still drank the blood of Christ. A crystal glass for tasting the wine to see that it is not poisoned, and the three white wafers, of which two are disposed of in like manner, a survival of the troubled times of the Renaissance. Two beautiful chalices are prepared for the mass, the second in gold, a priceless marvel of fifteenth-century sculpture.

On one side of the altar are two mitres and two tiaras; on the other side the marble stairway decorated with numberless candles, and in the centre, two bundles of roses, white and red, mixed.

At a quarter past nine the murmurs within Saint Peter's become thunderous. "The pope! The pope!" To the soft accents of the march of Longhi, above the heads of the spectators, a white form appears at the back of the basilica. Between the slowly moving fans of ostrich plumes, the *flabelli*, the pope wearing one of the large gold mitres like an Oriental monarch, slowly advances between the thousands of spectators in the nave, and descends at the left, in the chapel of the choir. Here he is seated on the little throne near the door of the sacristy and receives the submission of the cardinals, who prostrate themselves. He blesses them, and when the singing of the *None* is begun, he is dressed in pontifical garments—white cape, gloves embroidered in gold, white embroidered mitre. At ten-fifteen he reappears in the nave on the *sedia* mounted on a dais. Expressions of wonder and admiration fill Saint Peter's during this procession. The silver trumpets

sound. While the pope is being carried on his throne, an official burns three pieces of tow, then turns to the new pontiff and repeats the words of the inspired Jew, *Sancte Pater, sic transit gloria mundi*.

The tow burns out. The *sedia* is carried to the apse, lowered, and the pope is at the foot of the altar. He celebrates the mass and consecrates the host and the wine. The remaining time, seated on his throne at the back of the apse, under the gloria of Bernini, he officiates in the manner of the bishops of the first Christian centuries who grouped their church around their *cathedra*. The first cardinal deacon places the *pallium* on the pope and recites the three orisons of the bishops, in memory of old times when the elected pope, who might not be a bishop, received the episcopal consecration the day of his coronation.

Soon he returns to his throne. After the long singing of the Gospels and the Epistles in Latin and in Greek, he begins the *exordium*. At the consecration there is the silence of death. Even the clinking of sabres is no longer heard. People, priests, great personages, are on their knees, prostrate, hearing nothing but their heartbeats. The pope raises the host. . . .

The pope returns to the apse. Between two rows of kneeling Noble Guards saluting in military fashion the cardinal deacon brings him the veil and the paten on which the host rests under the weight of a silver star, then the chalice covered with a golden cloth. The pope receives communion.

In front of the Confession stairway, a platform in red velours has been placed. Here the *sedarii* place the *sedia*. The cardinals who are the heads of the orders take two stools at the side of the pontiff. As the ceremony lasts five hours, the pope at this time may appear quite tired. But the first cardinal deacon, after the usual prayers, exclaims "*Accipe tiaram*. . . . Receive the tiara adorned with three crowns and know that thou art the Father of Princes and of Kings, the Rector of the Universe, the Vicar of our Saviour Jesus Christ, who possessed honour and glory from century to century. Amen."

(For the coronation of Pius XI in 1922, the words were spoken and the tiara placed on the head of the pope by Cardinal Billot of France, who undoubtedly had not voted for his colleague, Cardinal Ratti; several years later Cardinal Billot, in fact, resigned from the Sacred College because of the condemnation of the so-called school of philosophy of the *Action Française*.)

Now crowned, the man of flesh and blood is restored to energy and greatness. With a hand renewed in vigour, the pope, majestically raised again on the *sedia*, blesses the assembled multitude.

He does this a second time from the balcony of Saint Peter's. The trumpets of the Royal Guard sound his approach; the Palatine Guard plays the pontifical hymn. A hundred thousand persons are gathered. To see one man. And three hundred million faithful, from Rome to the Antipodes, will obey him who wears the tiara and carries in his hands, with the keys of Saint Peter, the fate and future of Catholicism.



## CHAPTER VI

## Secrets of the Conclave

IF IN THE RECENT HISTORY OF THE VATICAN WE DO NOT FIND GREAT changes such as followed the great councils of ancient times, we do, however, come upon notable instances of important decisions in our own era which are not only dramatic and of great interest, but which also show modernization, or, as some would prefer to say, adaptability to the modern world.

The lay veto, or the power of certain European kings and emperors to intervene in the midst of a conclave with an official note declaring themselves opposed to the cardinal leading in the balloting and about to be crowned pope, was abolished in the year 1903, after one of the most sensational incidents in the whole three hundred years of the exercise of this right. Secrecy was imposed upon the cardinals and other participants in the conclave after Cardinal Mathieu of France had given the world the remarkable true story of the election of Pius X, and it was not until after 1922 that the regulation limiting the reign of the cardinals to ten days before the election of a new pope was changed for the benefit of the American representatives.

For three centuries the Catholic kings of France, Spain, Austria, and sometimes Portugal had used their influence in the elections of popes, either indirectly by instructing their cardinals to obtain support in preventing election of certain candidates, or directly by the veto, when the king had his representative go from cell to cell, mentioning the name of the colleague his king opposed, or make an announcement at the door of the Sistine Chapel at voting-time.

Six centuries ago, records Rev. W. J. Hegarty, an Irish priest and historian, Philip the Fair, king of France, sought the elec-

tion of a pope who would support him "in endeavouring to load with infamy the memory of the defunct Pope Boniface." In the conclave he had the services of Cardinal Pietro Colonna, who never had been a friend of the dead ruler. King Philip, however, was not exercising a veto; "what he did, or what he attempted to do, was to bribe all who were willing to be bribed and to frighten into submission all who were not." This plot did not succeed.

In 1550 Cardinal Pole was opposed by the king of France because he was an Englishman. Then in 1623 the lay veto established itself, when Cardinal Borromeo, nephew of St. Charles Borromeo, was successfully opposed. Since then Spain and France frequently, and Austria occasionally, have exercised the veto. Its purpose, says the Rev. Dr. Hegarty, from beginning to end was that of "a political weapon and was employed against a candidate, not for unorthodoxy in religion, but in politics." Until the close of the eighteenth century a veto was exercised at almost every conclave, Austria and France usually being linked against Spanish influence. In 1846 Austria vetoed Cardinal Mastai Ferretti, but the veto arrived just after the cardinal had become pope and was therefore not received.

The declaration of infallibility in 1870 and the attack on the Vatican by Bismarck after 1870 led, in 1874, to Pius IX taking a step which ultimately led to the abolition of lay vetoes. Bismarck had sent a diplomatic note to the German ambassadors and representatives throughout the world saying, "before the civil governments admit the election of any pope whatsoever and authorize him to make use of these powers, they are justified in demanding that his election and his person offer such guarantees as must of necessity be demanded, lest such power should be abused." In his bull *Licet per Apostolicas* the pope two years later told the cardinals to be "swayed by the wishes of no one," to remain unmoved by the pleadings of "powerful secular princes." Pius IX died at the time the victorious Bismarck was planting in his controlled newspapers the demand that the European powers hold a conference for the purpose of regulating the papal conclaves and for deciding how they would react towards pontifical actions.

The death of Leo XIII in 1903 was followed by a papal election which ended the chronicle of the interference of kings and emperors. The history of these events was made public by the French cardinal who signed himself merely *Un témoin* (a witness), but who was later identified as Mathieu. He recalls that he was apprised of the illness of the pope by a Paris journalist, and on the 12th of July, Sunday, found the pope quite ill. The following dialogue ensued:

CARDINAL MATHIEU: "Most Holy Father, all France is praying for your recovery. Give her your blessing."

POPE LEO XIII: "I am very happy that France is praying for me. But I wish that she would desist in her antagonism against religion."

CARDINAL: "Most Holy Father, France is not hostile to religion. There are only a small number of men who persecute it."

POPE: "Undoubtedly. But they are the masters and they are permitted to do it."

Leo XIII, who had meditated much upon life and death, did not believe, in the first days of his long illness, that the end was coming. The morning after the administration of extreme unction he said rather cheerfully to Monsignor Angeli, "You had thought that I would not pass the night? I accepted it voluntarily, but I had not thought it was so urgent."

On Sunday the 19th, prayers for the peace of Leo's soul were said, for, continues the cardinal, a pope who comes to die is no more in the eyes of the Church than a sinner who has need like all others to be recommended to the grace of God. At ten minutes to four Lapponi (the doctor) made a sign and a servant brought a small lighted candle and a sprinkler filled with holy oil. Cardinal Vannutelli entered the alcove and in a voice charged with emotion began the litany for the dying, while Monsignor Angeli, kneeling very close to the dying man, hid from him with his hand the pale light of the small candle. Because Leo XIII, facing the cardinal, still saw and heard, he replied to each invocation with a feeble groan which was an effort to say, "*Ora pro me.*" "At the end of the prayers he inclined his head to the side of the

window. Lapponi pulled the curtain, and under the vivid light the emaciated figure of the pope, his large forehead, his eye sockets, creased by the suffering of the past fifteen days, appeared already invaded by the pallor of death. His heaving chest was disclosed by the partly opened shirt; his breathing became more and more infrequent; he opened his eyes slowly, then closed them; a last convulsion passed over his face, and it was the end. . . ."

Cardinals Mathieu and Rampolla were present for the last sacraments. Five or six other cardinals came in at the end and all were in tears. The pope passed away at just two minutes to four and Cardinal Mathieu whispered to Cardinal Serafino Vannutelli, who had given the plenary indulgence, to recite the *Subvenite*. Then followed the *De Profundis*. Then Cardinal Macchi took the ring from the right hand which had been joined to the left on the breast of the dead pope.

Within a few minutes the news was known in Rome and telegraphed around the world. In many European capitals it aroused unusual interest. In Paris, Minister of Foreign Affairs Delcassé, who had previously telegraphed the ambassador in Rome, "If circumstances do not permit the candidature of Rampolla, we must support one of his friends. I know that Spain will go along the same road," now invited all the French cardinals to consult with him and four did so, two of them also calling upon the president. Delcassé made subtle suggestions; he counted on the "patriotism of the French cardinals" to vote for a pope of moderate ideas and "sentiments known favourable to France." In Rome, Councillor and Acting Ambassador Nisard did not hide his sympathy for Cardinal Rampolla. He came to see Cardinal Mathieu three times a day, "suffering from conclave fever," a malady "contagious and periodic, of which science will never kill the microbe." There were speculations galore, rumours, false reports, and the most fantastic tales in the streets of Rome about the alignment of two parties in the conclave. Rampolla's was said to favour the programme of the deceased, while the other, led by Cardinal Oreglia,



favoured a return to the policies of Pius IX, which had been abandoned by Leo.

On the eve of the conclave Cardinal Kopp, archbishop of Breslau, Germany, came to Cardinal Mathieu with a compromise proposal. Mathieu describes him as "a German general in the form of a priest," never a friend of France, a protagonist of *Deutschtum* in Alsace and Lorraine, a devoted follower of the imperialistic Wilhelm II. Cardinal Puzyna from Cracow also visited Mathieu, whose diary notes: "He came to see me, spoke to me much about the Holy Spirit, embraced me several times. But it appears that the Holy Spirit had inspired him with a great antipathy against Cardinal Rampolla. It is natural that the German-speaking cardinals . . . should find, and many Italians with them, that Leo XIII and his minister (Rampolla) had too exclusively kept the Barque of St. Peter in French waters, where it has met nothing but welcomes. It was affirmed that these voted for Cardinal Gotti.

"Several days before the conclave opened there arrived in Rome an Austrian cardinal whose austere manner was at once marked. He made many visits, going from cardinal to cardinal, and repeating, 'What a serious affair. Pray well. Invoke the Holy Spirit. Let us unite.' Speaking French perfectly, he went frequently to the French cardinals to whom he loved to recall that his grandfather had served under Napoleon as a colonel of the Grand Army. Puzyna said: 'We must have a pope who makes of politics a means and not an end. Ah, pray well. Let us unite, be united. Let us invoke the Holy Spirit.'

"But what the cardinal did not tell was that he had in his pocket a formal injunction as regards the Holy Spirit, in the form of a message which bothered him a lot and which he wanted delivered by another. He offered his little paper to many, asking them to read it in his place."

At the opening of the conclave a French cardinal, presumably Mathieu, and his neighbour, an Italian cardinal, had a little conversation: "*Votre Eminence est sans doute archevêque en Italie. Dans quel diocèse?*" The Italian replied, "*Non parlo francese.*" The Frenchman then asked, "*In quanam diocesi es archiepisco-*

*pus?"* to which the reply was, "*Sum patriarcha Venetiae.*" "*Non loqueris gallice? Ergo non es papabilis, siquidem papa debet gallice loqui,*" said the Frenchman, and the Italian replied, "*Verum est, Eminentissime Domine. Non sum papabilis. Deo Gratias.*" The Italian, who was the patriarch of Venice, who did not speak French, and who thanked God that he therefore was not "papable" or electable, was to become Pius X within a few days.

There were no less than five hundred persons locked in the Vatican on this occasion. A Hungarian cardinal who wanted his cook let in because he could not do without paprika dishes, was refused. He, however, did not eat the Italian food with all the rest, but had Hungarian plates brought in, and because he sat apart, talking Hungarian with his colleagues, the rumour spread that they were participants in the Austrian veto. This was not so. The utmost secrecy prevailed. On one occasion a guard was sent to the chamber of Cardinal Couille to inquire whether the white cloth hung out of his window was a signal to some one in the outside world. He invited a search, and there was no white cloth. The guard again went outside and saw it. It proved to be, on the authority of Cardinal Mathieu, the shirt of a cardinal in the cell above which had been hung out to dry because it was wet with perspiration.

The first scrutator named was Rampolla; the first name drawn was Gotti. The first vote was: Rampolla, 24; Gotti, 17; Sarto, 5; Serafino Vannutelli, 4; Oreglia, Capecelatro and Di Pietro, each 2; Agliardi, Ferrata, Richelmy, Portanova, Cassetta and Segna, each 1.

Cardinal Cavagnis then addressed the cardinal dean: should they prepare the *accessio*? Under this method, which dates from the sixteenth century, it would be possible for those not having given their vote to one of the leading candidates to change their ballot after the first poll, by writing *Accedo . . . (Rampolla)* on their ballot. The dean replied he did not believe the method had been used at the last ballot. Mathieu, who insists it was used, added that Dean Cardinal Oreglia is above all suspicion, but "it is permitted to regret" that a question of such importance was

decided by a single person, contrary to tradition, to the tenor of apostolic constitution, and to the letter of the vow. Parenthetically Mathieu remarks that the same dean failed to tap with the hammer on the forehead of the dead pope, as is customary.

The vote, therefore, was continued that Saturday night, resulting: Rampolla, 29; Gotti, 16; Sarto, 10; Richelmy, 3; Capececiatro, 2; Serafino Vannutelli and Segna, each 1.

Sunday morning, Cardinal Puzyna, still carrying the message from the Emperor of Austro-Hungary, still unable to find a colleague who would read it to the conclave, went to Cardinal Rampolla to tell him of his embarrassment. He was told to refer to the tribunal of his conscience, and at the morning session while each cardinal was writing out his ballot, the cardinal bishop of Cracow asked leave to speak. He began with *Honori mihi duco* ("I have the honour"), instead of the usual *Doleo* ("I regret"), and to the amazement of the conclave that morning, and to the world, when it was revealed later by Mathieu, read the last of three centuries of vetoes:

"I have the honour, having been intrusted with this task on the instructions of the highest authority, to inform your eminence as dean of the Sacred College and camerlingo of the Holy Roman Church, humbly begging you to make the fact known officially in the name and by the authority of his apostolic majesty, Francis Joseph, emperor of Austria and king of Hungary, that his majesty, wishing to exercise the virtue of his ancient right and privilege, lodges the veto of exclusion against my most worthy Lord Cardinal Mariano Rampolla del Tindaro. Rome. August 2, 1903. ✕Cardinal Puzyna."

The voice trembled and tears rolled from the eyes of the speaker. Heavy silence filled the Sistine Chapel. Then Dean Cardinal Oreglia replied:

"This communication cannot be received by the conclave officially or semi-officially; no notice must be taken of it."

Cardinal Rampolla arose, "pale, stately and resplendent with dignity." He said:

"I regret the fact that in the election of a pontiff a lay power

has made a serious attack on the liberty of the Church and the dignity of the Sacred College, and I therefore protest energetically. As for my humble person, I declare that nothing more honourable, nothing more agreeable, could have befallen me (*Nihil honorabilius, nihil jucundius mihi contingere poterat.*)”

Cardinal Perraud, bishop of Autun, protested at secular interference in the name of the French cardinals. The vote was taken. Rampolla maintained his 29; Sarto received 21, and Gotti 9. Said Sarto:

“*Sono indegno, sono incapace. Dimenticate mi* (I am unworthy, I am incapable. Forget me).”

In the evening the vote was Rampolla 30, Sarto 24, Gotti 3. But the majority felt that the leader would never reach that high total again, and from then on the election of Sarto seemed assured. The French cardinals held a conference. They believed that behind the *démarche* of Puzyna was the hand of Germany also, and perhaps the anti-clerical element in the Italian government. The French decided to continue their support of Rampolla, who himself came to the cell of Cardinal Langenieu, where were gathered Cardinals Couille, Perraud, and Mathieu, and told them to continue their support of his candidature by official order of his confessor, because it now represented the cause of the liberty of the Catholic Church.

That night Cardinal Mathieu told his colleagues he opposed Sarto, who spoke no French and did not know France; he proposed Di Pietro. Perraud asked that Rampolla be supported one last time.

On Monday morning, Cardinal Sarto was first with 27 votes, while Rampolla received 24, Gotti 6, Prisco, Oreglia, Capecelatro, 1 each, and 1 vote blank. Cardinal Satolli declared in Latin that he was authorized by Cardinal Sarto to say that, surrendering to the requests of his friends, he would place the election in the hands of Providence. The evening vote was Sarto 36, Rampolla 16, Gotti 7, Oreglia 2, Di Pietro 1, Capecelatro 1.

At seven that evening Cardinal Mathieu went to the future pope and, as he notes in his diary, “I told him that I came to

assure him of my devotion, that I would be glad to give him my vote tomorrow, and that he could count on no cardinal more devoted than the French member of the Curia. He replied he was confused by what was happening, that he was only an humble shepherd of souls, and excused himself for not knowing French. I replied he would learn it quickly. . . .”

Tuesday morning, going to mass, Mathieu encountered Cardinal Satolli in the ducal hall. Who is going to be secretary of state? he asked, and without waiting for a reply said that Agliardi pleased him. Satolli replied it was impossible “because he was nuncio at Vienna” and proposed Vincenzo Vannutelli “because he has not been mixed up in any negotiations with the great powers and is compromised with no one.” Mathieu accordingly called on Vannutelli, expressing his desire to see him made secretary of state, to which the latter replied he would not accept except by command. Mathieu, considering the position most important, believed that a French *démarche* might now be necessary.

At the last voting Cardinals Cassetta, Mathieu, and Martinelli read the names. Although the election was now considered certain, there was great tensivity when for the forty-second time the ballot read Sarto. Eight more than a majority were received by the patriarch of Venice, 10 going to Rampolla and 2 to Gotti.

“Do you accept the election which has been made of your person in the quality of pope?” the dean asked in Latin. Cardinal Sarto was surrounded. Tears filled his eyes, ran down his cheeks. Almost all the other cardinals wept. The chosen cardinal was weak, almost fainting, but managed to say in a strange, weak voice, after a silence: “Oh, that the chalice had passed far from me. But the will of God will be done.”

This was not the official formal reply, so Cardinal Oreglia began to repeat the Latin question with some annoyance in his voice, when Cardinal Sarto replied, “I accept.”

“How do you wish to be called?”

“Confident of the aid of the sainted pontiffs who have honoured the name of Pius by their virtue, and who have defended the Church with force and with kindness, I wish to be called Pius X.”

One by one the other cardinals let down the baldachins until of the sixty-two ranged along the walls of the Sistine Chapel but one remained, and that one was placed where those of the three scrutators had been. Of the three soutanes, the middle-sized one was chosen. All the cardinals came to kneel before Pope Pius X as their first homage, called officially the first "adoration," which consists of kissing, successively, the foot, the hand and the cheek of the new Pope.

On January 20, 1904, Pius X drew up his decree *Commissum nobis*, which he promulgated in 1909, abolishing the veto and ordering the cardinals under no pretext to attempt its reintroduction, under penalty of excommunication; the absolution of which is reserved *speciali modo* to the pope who shall be elected by the conclave.

No decree having yet been issued punishing the divulgence of secrets with excommunication *lata sententia*, that is to say, automatically, the details of the 1914 conclave can also be given, although the human drama which the action of the Austrian ruler instigated is missing. Benedict XV was elected pope on the sixteenth ballot. The first of these is most interesting, showing that the *zelanti*, or so-called intransigent party, received 16 ballots divided unevenly by Merry del Val and Pompilj, while the *politicanti*, or conciliatory party, obtained 24 votes, evenly divided by Maffi and Della Chiesa. The first ballot was:

Maffi	12
Della Chiesa	12
Pompilj	9
Merry del Val	7
Serafini	4
Baccilieri	2 and 1 each for Cardinals Agliardi. De Lai, Falconio, Ferrari, Gotti, Ferrata, and Gasparri.

On the second ballot the two leaders were Maffi and Della Chiesa, with 16 votes each, and on the third, Della Chiesa gained 2 more, and again 2 on the fourth, while Maffi remained stationary with 16. On the fifth vote there was an important change, Maffi

receiving 14 only, and Della Chiesa reaching 21, and on the sixth the candidature of Maffi having been deserted largely, a new name was introduced among the leaders, the vote being:

Serafini 17

Della Chiesa 27

The seventh ballot increased the former by 1 vote, the latter by 2, the eighth showed Serafini 21 and Della Chiesa 30, and the ninth Serafini 22 and Della Chiesa 30.

The voting continued with few changes, no cardinal being able to obtain the necessary two-thirds vote until, an accord having been made overnight, Della Chiesa was elected on the final ballot with the formidable vote of 50 out of 57 participants.

Of the 1922 election some facts are known despite the penalty of excommunication. The voting followed the analogous curve. After the first scrutiny, where a dozen votes were cast for Cardinal Mercier, the celebrated archbishop of Malines, numerous ballots were taken without a decisive indication. Cardinal La Fontaine, who had been given an ovation, had pertinently replied, "He who goes into the conclave a pope, comes out a cardinal." This was especially true in the case of Cardinal Maffi, who was generally believed the popular choice of the Italians. He was the most noted scholar in the Church, the most noted liberal, and he was intensely anti-Fascist at a time when the Catholic Church was anti-Fascist. But popularity has always been a handicap in the making of popes.

On the 5th of February there was a deadlock, and it was hoped that the two American cardinals, O'Connell and Dougherty, would arrive in time to break it. (The former arrived just one hour too late to participate.) There were seven voting sessions, two scrutinies in each, and at the last, on February 6th, Cardinal Ratti was elected. The scene that followed is described by Cardinal Mercier:

"What a moment it was! I can think of none more moving. Cardinal Ratti stands alone by his chair with bent head. The other cardinals have left their seats to form three or four circles

around the elect. The cardinal dean raises his voice, and in the name of the Sacred College pronounces the formula marking the conclusion of our labours. 'Do you accept the election which canonically designates you for the Supreme Pontificate?'

"A silence of humility, and doubtless fear also, and, as we hope, of faith and confidence, holds us in breathless expectation for two long, very long minutes. Then a soft reply is heard, more or less in these terms: 'It must not be said that I have unreservedly refused to obey the divine will. It must not be said that I have declined the burden which is to weigh on my shoulders. It must not be said that I have failed to appreciate at their full value the votes of my colleagues. Therefore, in spite of the unworthiness that I feel so deeply, I accept.'

"'And what name do you choose?' asked the cardinal dean.

"The pope's voice was overcome with emotion. I could not hear the whole of his reply, but in substance it was as follows:

"'Under Pius IX I was incorporated into the Catholic Church and took the first steps in the ecclesiastical career. By Pius X I was called to Rome. The name Pius is a name of peace, and therefore, since I wish to dedicate my efforts to the work of universal peace-making to which my predecessor, Benedict XV, was consecrated, I choose the name of Pius.'

"After a pause the pope continued:

"'One word more. I protest before the members of the Sacred College that I have at heart the safeguarding and defence of all the rights of the Church and prerogatives of the Holy See, but, this said, I wish my first benediction to go forth as a pledge of that peace to which mankind aspires, not only to Rome and Italy, but to the whole Church and to the whole world. I will give it from the outer balcony of St. Peter's.'

"The pope then embraced one after the other of all his late colleagues whose shepherd and father he had now become. After a moment, accompanied by the master of ceremonies, he went out of the chapel, returning immediately afterwards, vested in white. The cardinal dean placed on his finger the Fisherman's Ring. The pope then deigned to receive the first official homage of our



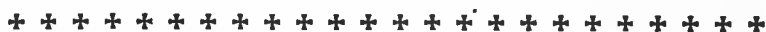
vation; each of us kissed his foot and his ring, and received from him the first embrace of the father of the Catholic Church."

It was 11:30. Just one hour later Cardinal Bisleti, the first cardinal deacon, went to the outer balcony of St. Peter's and pronounced the traditional formula:

*"Annuncio vobis gaudium magnum. Habemus Papam, eminentissimum ac reverendissimum Dominum Achillem Ratti, qui sibi nomen imposuit Pius Undecimus."*

After a few minutes, for the first time since 1870, a pope appeared on the outer loggia of St. Peter's and gave his benediction.

Almost immediately on taking office Pius XI considered what is generally called the "protest" from the American cardinals. On the occasion of this election not only the archbishops of Boston and Philadelphia, but Cardinal Begin of Canada, archbishop of Quebec, failed to arrive on time, and on other occasions not only the American but the Australian cardinals had been absent. Pius XI by a *motu proprio* modified the law of conclave, lengthening the time allowed the cardinals from ten to fifteen days, and at most eighteen.



## CHAPTER VII

### *Daily Life of the Modern Popes*

ONE ARE THE DAYS OF GLORY AND GRANDEUR IN THE DAILY LIFE of the popes. The great receptions, the feasts, the public ceremonies which one associates with old temporal power have long disappeared, and although the present pontiff is again a king and has a double court, there is no likelihood of a change from the present simple programme of living.

Although Pius XI is so irregular in his habits as to cause anxiety to his physicians, this is the schedule which he follows daily:

- 5 A.M., arises.
- 5-6, meditation and prayer.
- 6, celebrates mass privately.
- 7, attends a second mass.
- 8, takes a European breakfast consisting of rolls, butter, and coffee.
- 8 A.M. to 1 P.M., audiences and correspondence.
- 1 P.M., lunch (but sometimes at 2 or 3 o'clock).
- 2-5, audiences and study.
- 5, refreshment and rest.
- 9, dinner.
- 9-10, conversation with secretaries, and reading.

Although his valet is instructed to wake him promptly at five in the morning, he usually finds his master up and in the small chapel adjoining his bedroom. All the recent popes have been early risers, but none so early as the present one. Pius X rose at six and took tea for breakfast. The present pope usually takes a short walk in the garden, or in the loggia, according to the weather, and on returning to his study reads his correspondence

with his secretaries, who take notes or dictation. Before nine he usually receives the secretary of state. (The council of state is usually at 2 P.M.) The secretary reports on the world, giving the pope information received from the nuncios, legates, and apostolic delegates.

At this conference the pope is also informed of the news and the opinions of the world press; he and the secretary exchange views and then the pope makes his decisions, against which there is no appeal and which constitutes the policy of the Vatican. Thus the main work of the day and the important work of the Holy See are concluded in this audience.

Every day, at the end of this meeting, two or three cardinals are received. The cardinals of the Curia, the heads of all the congregations, have fixed days and hours for their visits. All the princes of the Church who are members of the Curia see the pope at least once every week.

The pope is usually fatigued by the time lunch arrives, and after eating he may take a nap, or read, or retire for meditation.

Of the schedule and daily habits of Pius X, the Abbé Cigala has furnished an authoritative account. After rising and shaving himself without the aid of his valet, and after having celebrated mass, which, "following the advice of Saint Alfonso, is generally brief, rarely taking more than twenty-five minutes," and after having taken his light breakfast, the pope received his secretaries.

The work is apportioned [the abbé continues] and the pope remains alone until nine. He then receives the secretary of state and discusses important questions with him. Every day the secretary of state gives the pope an account of political events and reports which have reached the Vatican. This consultation sometimes lasts several hours.

The pope then receives, from ten to twelve, the various cardinals who are prefects of the congregations, foreign ambassadors, bishops, and the generals of the religious orders. At noon the pope recites the *Angelus* with the members of the *famiglia*, and then goes to his dining-room.

It is a tradition that the pope should dine always alone at a little

table under a baldachin. The present pope sometimes breaks the tradition and invites prominent prelates to his table. Those who are invited sit on his right or left, but never facing him, out of respect for him who has no equal on the earth. The meal is very simple, monastic for a pope even when he is alone. It is said he only allows his food to cost him five francs a day, but that Leo XIII allowed eight.

After dinner he goes to the gardens of the Vatican and takes a long promenade, generally on foot, accompanied by some prelate—these are the best hours for audiences if you can get the favour of being invited. When the pope is alone he talks with the Noble Guard in attendance on him, or the gardeners at their work, and chats with them quite paternally. About two o'clock the pope returns to his apartments and remains alone till five, which is the hour of prayer and contemplation. The pope enjoys reading his breviary simultaneously with the churches and monasteries of Rome, which chant their vespers before the setting of the sun.

At five—that is, post time, as it is called in official language—the pope receives his secretaries again to transact current business. He then receives official personages as in the morning; it is rare not to find some bishop or prelates waiting in the little *aula* after having passed through the various antechambers sentinelled by the Swiss Guard, the Palatine Guard, the Noble Guards, and the chamberlains. All have to take their turn except cardinals, who are shown in immediately.

At eight o'clock the pope takes a light supper while his secretary reads from some religious work. It is generally a chapter of that little book he loves most of all others and which he used to give away as souvenirs when he was patriarch—the *Imitatio Christi* of Thomas à Kempis. At nine, once more following the custom of Roman society, he receives persons of distinction, or intimate friends with whom he discusses business, good works, or plans. It is often eleven o'clock, sometimes midnight, when he begins to think of taking a little rest. All his attendants are already in bed. The pope, to make waiting on him easier, has chosen for his bedroom a little room over his study, in a sort of low entresol which communicates by a winding stairway with his apartments. It is a regular monk's cell. In it, as at Venice, he has nothing but a simple iron camp bedstead. It is here that the supreme head of the Church spends his few hours of rest. All the Vatican has retired to rest long before Pius X thinks of sleep.

A plain, poor man, Pius X was an enemy of etiquette. His simplicity was well illustrated in his reception of the king of Sweden. Knowing that his royal visitor was a collector of curiosities, the pope reached into a drawer of his desk and found a railway ticket. "This is the return half of the ticket from Venice to Rome," he said, "which I bought when I came to the conclave. Put it in your collection; it will be of no use to me now."

Pius XI has for his main meal a little soup, chicken or fish, and a little wine only, on his doctor's orders. Leo XIII obeyed the convention that a pope must eat alone. He wanted his secretary, Monsignor Angeli, to dine with him, but was told it was against the protocol, so the two sat talking at the table, Leo dining, then the secretary dining. This caused great gossip.

Pius X changed the rules. On the day he was crowned he told the servants that Monsignor Bressan, his faithful secretary and devoted friend who followed him from Venice, would accompany him to table. The servants were shocked. They held conferences. They wondered how a pope could break all sacrosanct traditions. Finally they got up enough courage to warn the pontiff.

"And are you certain that Saint Peter ate alone?" Pius replied.

Pius later invited Monsignor Pescini and cardinals, archbishops, and bishops, and even laymen, to sit at his table. He loved good conversation and was bored when he had no one to talk to. It was also good for his health, because when alone he used to bolt his food, while with friends he ate slowly while enjoying the conversation.

"Jesus Christ," he once said to his guests, "always ate with his disciples, and he must have been a great conversationalist—we can judge that by the Gospels—and why should we be prouder than he?"

Finally Pius went far in breaking tradition when he invited his two sisters to eat with him once a week. Once he wanted them to cook his rice and peas so that he could dismiss the kitchen staff, but he was persuaded to let the old system remain there. Pius had found luxury. Despite Leo's frugality there had re-

mained seven chefs. "What are they for?" exclaimed Pius. "Why seven chefs to cook a little bouillon and two eggs?"

There was also an old rule that nothing that had once appeared on the table of the pope ever returned. One afternoon Pius X drank a few drops from a bottle of priceless hundred-year-old Tokay which the Emperor Francis Joseph had sent him, and that evening he invited a cardinal to help finish the bottle. The servant thereupon called the Pope's attention to the rule. Pius insisted it be broken, but in this instance it was too late, because the wine had found other connoisseurs. Food and wine may nowadays be brought back to the table.

Pius X also found that the tradition of solitary dining dated back only to Urban VIII. Clement VII had given Charles the Fifth a dinner of a hundred varied plates, and a large kitchen staff had remained in the Vatican after banquets were obsolete. Since 1370 the frugality of the popes had become proverbial. Leo ate very little, and rarely in the dining-room, preferring a few things brought anywhere on a silver tray.

In like manner luxury has disappeared from the courts of the cardinals. While most of the popes since 1870 have been poor men, the richer among them could have lived in more ample style, but refrained from doing so at a time when revenues were being depleted by the loss of the Papal States, and the Church's material existence was due largely to voluntary contributions, Peter's Pence, the greater part of which came from the United States. The cardinals, who had either their own fortunes or were presented with houses, goods, and money by their congregations, likewise refused to continue the luxury which some of them in historic times had made famous. In comparison with the penury of today, we have this description of the court of Cardinal Cinzio Aldobrandini, "nephew" of Clement VIII, recorded by Silvagni:

"When Cardinal Cinzio, who was the cardinal nephew, sat down to dinner, a most elaborate ceremony was gone through. The table was always decorated with a profusion of the rarest flowers and fruits, the plates were of silver, and the china from Urbino and Faenza. At one end of the dining-hall stood a splen-

did buffet covered with enormous silver salvers and vessels of gold and silver. There were hundreds of silver dishes also piled upon it for the use of the guests, and vases by the famous Giorgioneda Gubbio, and majolica of the finest manufacture.

"Amid all this splendour the cardinal placed himself at table. His cup-bearer brought a silver basin and poured water over his fingers, and his steward offered him a napkin to dry them with, removing it, after use, in another silver dish. Then the carver took up his position behind his master's chair, the steward lifted the cover from the dish, and the cup-bearer tied the napkin under the great man's chin, just as nowadays children are put into their bibs.

"The assistant gentlemen-in-waiting offered water to any prelates or gentlemen who were dining with his eminence, and the napkins for wiping their hands were presented by pages and valets, whose duty it was to serve the guests—the pages having the privilege of putting on their caps after the meal had begun, while the other attendants continued uncovered.

"When the cardinal wished to drink, the gentleman-in-waiting who held the cup took off its cover, and the steward offered a napkin for his master to dry his lips upon. Whenever the cardinal drank, the same ceremony was repeated—the napkin, however, being changed every time, while the one already used was passed to an attendant. If other cardinals were at table they were served in a similar manner. The meat was ushered into the room with great ceremony, for the dishes were not put upon the table, but handed to the guests as they were ready to partake of them. First came a groom of the chambers, with his sword by his side, but without cap or mantle; then the house steward, with a napkin over his shoulder; then the under-steward with a tureen of soup; then two assistants, carrying two other dishes, to give the cardinal a choice of viands. These latter officials wore their swords and had on caps and cloaks. The *gentiluomini di toga* did not serve at table, and only assisted at dinner-time if they belonged to the cardinal's court. The major-domo, house steward, groom of the chambers, secretaries, and other officials were in the dining-hall,

but took no part in the service. The house steward's duty was to stand behind his master's chair and see that everything was conducted properly. The chaplain asked a blessing and returned thanks. The ring-bearer read aloud a spiritual book—that is to say, he went through the form of doing so, for as soon as the cardinal asked for wine the book was always closed, and conversation beguiled the rest of the repast.

"The cardinal's chair was distinguished from those of less honoured guests by being higher and being covered with velvet or brocade; and he never gave up his place except to some brother cardinal, the archdukes of Austria themselves having to allow him precedence. If the *Ave Maria* of *mezzodi* sounded while a meal was in progress, the cup-bearer suddenly lifted his eminence's berretta, and all the guests were required to do the same; and while the chaplain repeated the office the steward made a deep reverence, which he repeated when the party rose from table, to signify that the meal was at an end.

"Supper was served in a very similar fashion, excepting that the officials were preceded into the room by pages bearing lighted torches. The ceremonial was, however, so rigorous and complicated that Monsignor Bonifazio Vannazzi filled two large volumes with instructions for the servants and gentlemen-in-waiting, besides a special chapter for the guests in case they were doubtful how to conduct themselves."

The modern popes, like the modern dictators and premiers and presidents, are deeply concerned with the voice of popular opinion as expressed in the daily newspapers. Pius XI at breakfast usually asks what is in the morning papers and sometimes has one or two items of a sensational nature read out to him. In the evenings, when almost all of his entourage have already dined and no one is rushed, he discusses the day's news and himself reads the *Corriere d'Italia* and the *Osservatore Romano*, the last named being the official organ of the Catholic Church and, since the suppression of the liberty of the press by Mussolini, the only newspaper in Italy which dares tell the public the opinion of the outside world and a little of the true state of affairs under Fascism.



After the papers are read to him the pope usually remarks on certain items, sometimes approvingly, sometimes critically, and the editors are in due time informed of the pope's views. Needless to say this concerns only Catholic editors, those of Rome and of the provinces, such as the *Unita Cattolica* of Florence. Only the Catholic newspapers are read aloud to the pope, but he also pays attention to the secular press and the so-called liberal press which may hold views absolutely opposed to his own. Occasionally he has his secretaries read an American newspaper, and more frequently a French one, for he understands French best of foreign languages.

In the evening Pius XI loves to indulge in a literary conversation. Among Italian novels he believes Alexander Manzoni's *I Promessi Sposi* the greatest; in fact, he considers Manzoni the greatest Italian author next to Dante. On one occasion, during an argument on the relative merits of French Catholic authors, when in turn Pascal, Fenelon, François de Sales, were proclaimed the greatest, the pope gave his vote for Boussuet.

At ten every evening, when the prelates of the household retire, the pope again enters his library for the continuation of his favourite occupation, which has always been reading. Sometimes he stays up as late as 2 A.M., absorbed in his books.

His other favourite occupation had been mountain-climbing. When he became the prisoner of the Vatican the world regretted that a man of the out-of-doors would be so confined, and now that he is again free to climb, age and the dignity of position prevent him. As an alpinist his plan was to force himself to walk and climb every day until he was so fatigued he could not go a step farther.

Pius IX, who was a horseman, had in his time forbidden priests to ride in an omnibus. During the reign of Leo XIII the bicycle came into vogue. When it was forbidden to priests as undignified, the pope restored them the privilege. Leo did not like horses. While nuncio in Brussels a runaway horse almost killed him. But he had been a great sportsman. He had enjoyed swimming, walking, and hunting, and when he became pope he regretted that he

could not very well go shooting in the Vatican gardens. He kept a few deer and two ostriches, also a pelican which was said to have pink wings, to remind him of his days of liberty. French communicants once sent him a parrakeet, which he placed in the Vatican gardens, and a few days later, while taking a walk, he heard some one shout "*Vive le Pape-Roi*" (Long live the Pope-King). The parrakeet, which had been trained by the Bourbon donators, was taken away. At times Leo would trap birds in the Vatican garden, then give them their liberty.

It is significant that Pius X banished all caged animals from the gardens. Pacing the walks of his tiny kingdom, he could not bear to think of any animal deprived of its own liberty. He himself was no man of the outdoors, never having ridden or hunted or gone swimming or climbed mountains. Frequently, however, he liked to walk away into the woods of the garden and disappear for a while, until the household came out searching. On one occasion Cardinal Gibbons was conducting a party of Americans through the gardens, which he believed untenanted. When they came upon the pope the Americans immediately set up a clamour for presentation. The cardinal was frightened. But the pope called him, embraced him, granted an audience, and gave his benediction, from which he retired amid the hurrahs of the Americans.

No pope has used so many modern inventions as Pius XI. He shaves himself with an up-to-date safety razor, has an American as well as an Italian motor-car, has installed new lifts in the Vatican, permitted Marconi to build the finest modern radio station with a telephoto transmission apparatus, and quickly and eagerly employs minor inventions which add to the comfort of everyday life. He broke another precedent when he installed his mother's housekeeper in the Vatican. She repairs his stockings, silk by tradition, mends tears, patches his clothes. The hot summer of the Holy Year 1933-34 was quite a strain. His physicians were able to persuade him to use a sedan chair where there were no lifts, to vary his abstemious diet, to eat a little more regularly, and to take a little iced champagne.



However, it must be admitted that, compared with not only an audience but a view of a king or emperor or even a prime minister, a meeting with the ruler of the small Vatican state and the largest Church in the world is quite a simple matter. Once the ticket is obtained, all that is necessary for a woman is a black dress (which, however, must not be *décolleté* or sleeveless) and a black mantilla or black lace scarf for the head, and for the man evening dress, although frequently a plain black suit is enough. The distinguished persons honoured by private audiences receive instructions from the ambassador, minister, or delegate to the Vatican who has made the request. These officials must state that the visitor is *persona grata* and take full responsibility for conduct in case something disagreeable occurs, as was the instance a few years ago when a prominent writer profited by the occasion and remonstrated with the pope concerning one of the burning religious questions of the day. From the diplomatic point of view the great scandal of modern times concerned the audience for ex-President Roosevelt, planned but never held, which clearly illustrates the delicacy and the formalities of the situation, and which will be recounted later.

The conventional audience which the pope grants daily to all the visitors and tourists who have succeeded in obtaining tickets, and to the schools, pilgrimages, etc., takes place in one of the large halls of the Vatican, the ducal, the royal, or the hall of Benedictions, where the guests have been led by functionaries and arranged as for a review by the sovereign pontiff.

On arrival at such occasions, Leo XIII was announced by soldiers, by the blowing of silver trumpets, by the staccato command of officers; Pius X was announced silently "like a simple bishop dressed in white." There was majesty in Leo's presence, his movements, his speech, which led many to say that he had restored the sense of grandeur to the papacy. Pius X was much too democratic, much too simple in his manner, to win that sort of praise, and Benedict, the born nobleman, tried to restore some of the pomp and glory of Leo's time, not from a spirit of vanity, but

because it was in his nature and in his upbringing. Pius XI is again the democrat.

The audience given to the North American College of Rome by Pius XI in March, 1931, is typical. The pope, dressed in a white soutane with a moiré belt, his head covered with the skull-cap, his feet in red slippers, came walking from his private chambers accompanied by an escort of Noble Guards and chamberlains and the master chamberlain, Monsignor Caccia-Dominioni. The pope paused first in the Paramenti hall whose walls are covered with Gobelins, and received the homage of the directors of the college, Monsignor Eugene Burke, rector; Monsignor Breslin, vice-director; Monsignor Kiley, spiritual director; and numerous professors. He then passed into the reception-hall.

Here more than two hundred seminarists were grouped in two files, kneeling for the passage of the pope, who gave each in turn his ring to kiss and stopped to speak a few words in English with one or another, asking questions about their studies and about their country. In a few minutes this review was terminated and the pope seated himself on a low throne and listened to the address of obedience and devotion made by the rector in the name of the whole institution.

The pope then replied in language slow, elegant, and precise, felicitating and encouraging the directors, the masters, and the pupils of his dear North American College, profiting by the occasion to express a particular satisfaction. "No other country," he said, "has responded to his paternal message so generously and so joyously as the United States of America. One may say there has arrived a veritable mountain of telegrams and letters from their country, and not only from Catholics, but also from non-Catholics who were beginning to feel themselves Catholic and who particularly appreciated the sentiments and words of the pope; and this has made him hope that his message, thanks to divine favour, would bring about immediate benefit, real benefit, for many minds and hearts and souls."

The pope, having concluded, announced he would give his benediction not only to those present but to their parents and their

enterprises, to all they held in their minds and in their hearts. He blessed the kneeling assembly and immediately retired, saluted with enthusiasm by all these ardent youths.

Pius XI is keen on audiences, finding in them, as he once declared, "my only open window on the actual world." That was, of course, before he was freed from the Vatican "prison." Like Leo, he frequently stops to talk to some one in the group. On one occasion in the Pilgrims' hall he found a pilgrimage from northern Italy kneeling, one hulk of a man prominent, as if on his feet. "Is that Carnera?" the pope asked of his chamberlain. On being told it was, he exclaimed, "God could not enrich him more abundantly physically." Pius disapproves of prize-fighting.

Once during an American pilgrimage a Harvard University professor made a beautiful oration in the language of Dante, but to Leo XIII it sounded foreign or, at best, nasal Tuscan, and he could not understand it. He asked an American prelate to interpret, but the latter also failed, and with many persons speaking at once the audience became a tumult. Leo stilled it. "Be your words English, or Italian, or Venetian, it is of no importance," he said, "because the only language that is true is the language of the heart."

Leo's sense of humour was illustrated one day when he indulged in his favourite game of guessing the nationalities of the groups. Towards the end of his twenty-six-year reign he was almost always right, saying to his prelate, "Those are Brazilians, those are Americans, those French," etc. French noblemen he sometimes taunted good-humouredly. Noticing one such pompous person on this occasion, he said:

"And you, my son, are French."

"I have that great honour, most holy father," replied the nobleman.

"Chut, chut!" replied Leo, twinkling-eyed. "Not so loud; it would be cruel for those who have not the equal glory."

In contrast with the pope's coming into the halls for the group audiences are the private audiences where the visitors are led to his chambers. The three genuflections are usually dispensed with,

after the first, by a wave of the hand. Pius XI almost always receives his visitors in his library, which has three windows opening on St. Peter's Square. The worktable is between the first and second; the light spreads over it, the pope's face is in the shadow, the stranger in full sunshine, so that the pope can study and appraise him.

When the guest is a layman, the pope, having relieved him of the genuflections, permits him to kiss the Fisherman's Ring, but raises him before he can kneel and indicates the chair at the extreme end of the table. He usually lets the visitor begin talking and quickly takes his measure. If the visitor is shy the pope says something to put him at ease. There is never the formality of the meetings of kings and premiers with similar persons. But if Pius's guest proves stupid or banal he is quickly, though gently, dismissed with a tender blessing and permitted to leave without the three genuflections between table and door. If, on the other hand, the visitor is a man of learning, if he can speak on art, literature, or science, if he knows poetry and the classics, he may find the pope engaging him in conversation for as long as an hour or even more, for Pius is above all else a scholar, and nothing pleases him more than to forget the affairs of the world and the spirit, and talk books with a bookman. For that he has many times missed his meals and come late to his other audiences.

Next to scholars the present pope gives the longest audiences to men who have played a rôle in the history of their own times, such men as Marshal Foch, for instance, with whom the talk was not of war, but of peace.

Frequently the pope is faced with the problem of refusing an importuning visitor who has valid claims but who would prove a bore. With a betrayal of a fine sense of humour Pius XI said to his secretary of state on one such occasion, "But there is one excuse you cannot offer him—you cannot say that I am not at home."

The rules for visits of royalty are simple but strict. The royal visitors kiss the pope's extended hand; the humbler persons in the entourage kiss the slipper. Kaiser Wilhelm shocked the Vatican

on his famous visit to Rome when, seizing the Pope's hand, he kissed him, not it, three times.

The Roosevelt episode, which brought the formalities of the Vatican to world-wide attention and made plain to Americans how the group audience, the most democratic and universal public function, differs from the private audience, which may have vast international consequences, occurred in the spring of 1910 when the triumphal ex-President was touring the world and advising the Kaiser how to handle his army, the British how to govern in Egypt, and placing kings and emperors in their proper perspective to himself.

The air of the wild and woolly West which the effete New Yorker had affected in Albany and Washington, and which earned him the praise and love of millions who worship roughshod behaviour and the exercise of dictatorial power, carried Roosevelt on wave after wave of popularity. He was in a manner the embodiment of the spirit of his time. In Rome, however, he came face to face with the customs and traditions of the most ancient of all institutions. One morning in April, 1910, his countrymen were surprised by "A message to the American people," sent from Naples, explaining "what has occurred in connexion with the Vatican":

"I am sure that the great majority of my fellow citizens, Catholic quite as much as Protestant, will feel that I acted in the only way possible for an American to act. . . . Among my best and closest friends are many Catholics. . . . Bitter comment and criticism, acrimonious attack and defence, are not only profitless but harmful, and to seize upon such an incident as this as an occasion for controversy would be wholly indefensible and should be frowned upon by Catholics and Protestants alike. I earnestly hope that what I say will appeal to all good Americans."

While still shooting in Africa, Roosevelt had written Ambassador Leishman in Rome, asking an audience with the king of Italy and adding he would also be happy to be presented to the pope. Ambassador Leishman replied to Mr. Roosevelt, March 23rd: "The rector of the American Catholic College, Monsignor Ken-



nedy . . . requests that the following communication be transmitted to you: "The Holy Father will be delighted to grant audience to Mr. Roosevelt on April 5th and hopes nothing will arise to prevent it, such as the much-regretted incident which made the reception of Mr. Fairbanks impossible.'"

To which the ambassador added this comment: "I merely transmit this communication without having committed you in any way to accept the conditions imposed, as the form seems objectionable, clearly indicating that an audience would be cancelled in case you should take any action here that might be construed as countenancing the Methodist mission work here, as in the case of Mr. Fairbanks. Although fully aware of your intentions to confine your visit to the king and pope, the covert threat in the Vatican's communication to you is none the less objectionable, and one side or the other is sure to make capital out of the action you might take. The press is already preparing for the struggle."

The Fairbanks incident had occurred only a short time before and without much publicity. Ex-Vice President Charles Warren Fairbanks, visiting Europe, went to Rome and requested the usual audience with the pope. He was invited. Immediately afterwards he went to the Methodist mission and made a speech praising its leaders and glorifying its work. Catholics were offended. "This unspeakable outrage on the common father of Christendom in the city of its residence," said the Catholic journal, *America*, "necessarily led to the rule that no one who fraternizes with the Methodist leaders in Rome is welcome at the Vatican."

Roosevelt, through Ambassador Leishmann, on March 25th, sent his reply to Monsignor Kennedy: "It would be a real pleasure for me to be presented to the holy father, for whom I entertain a high respect both personally and as the head of a great Church. I fully recognize his entire right to receive or not to receive whomsoever he chooses for any reason that seems good to him, and if he does not receive me I shall not for a moment question the propriety of his action. On the other hand, I in my turn must decline to make any stipulations, or submit to any conditions which in

any way limit my freedom of conduct. I trust on April 5th he will find it convenient to receive me."

Three days later the final message from Monsignor Kennedy was transmitted to the ex-President:

"His Holiness will be much pleased to grant an audience to Mr. Roosevelt, for whom he entertains great esteem, both personally and as President of the United States. His Holiness quite recognizes Mr. Roosevelt's entire right to freedom of conduct. On the other hand, in view of the circumstances, for which neither His Holiness nor Mr. Roosevelt is responsible, an audience could not occur except on the understanding expressed in the former message." And the next day Mr. Roosevelt cabled, "Proposed presentation is of course impossible."

There was no audience. But the controversy raged. Many American Catholics in Rome asked the Vatican to recede from its position. John Callen O'Laughlin, American, Catholic, and representative of the *New York Times* called on the papal secretary of state, Cardinal Merry del Val, and reported the following conversation:

THE CARDINAL: "Can you guarantee that Mr. Roosevelt will not visit the Methodists here?"

THE JOURNALIST: "I cannot. Indeed, I believe that Mr. Roosevelt is just the man to go there. He will do as he pleases."

At this time Roosevelt had associated himself with Dr. Lyman Abbott in editorship of *The Outlook*. In making public the exchange of letters, Dr. Abbott said editorially that "Mr. Roosevelt has rendered a service to the country by his maintenance of American principles in his correspondence with the Vatican and by his Message of Peace to the American people. He could not honourably have done other than he did. An ex-President of the United States could not visit Rome and fail to ask for an audience with the pope without a palpable slight to the holy father. He could not accept the conditions imposed by the Vatican without a violation of the essential spirit of American brotherhood—that religious differences must not affect social relations.

"In what spirit will the American people take this incident?

. . . America claims to be the land of toleration. Is it? The Protestant churches claim to be tolerant churches. Are they? We shall soon see. Grant that the Vatican has shown itself intolerant. Can we be tolerant with intolerance? . . . We do expect that the spirit of good will and sympathy between Catholic and Protestant Americans will not be interfered with. . . ."

To a later message from Roosevelt, in which he said he wished he could make every member of a Christian church "feel that in so far as he spends his time quarrelling with other Christians of other churches he is helping to discredit Christianity in the eyes of the world," Dr. Abbott added that while Roosevelt's message had been accepted by men of all creeds, there was an exception, grossly ill-advised and lamentable, in "the expression put forth in Rome by Dr. Tipple, the pastor of the Methodist church there. In his manifesto violent attacks were made on the Roman hierarchy and such phrases were used as these: 'To be anathematized by the Roman hierarchy is to be named a friend. It is to be noted that Mr. Roosevelt does not endorse the accusations made by the Vatican against the Methodists of Rome.'" "The statement of Mr. Tipple," commented *The Outlook*, "is repudiated by higher Methodist ecclesiastical authorities . . . it is nothing less than offensive and inflammatory. . . ."

Although the controversy burned itself out during the year, the publications of his letters in 1925 revealed Roosevelt as he had really felt towards the Vatican and Methodists in 1910. He had written to his friend Senator Henry Cabot Lodge at that time:

At Rome I had an elegant row, the details of which you have doubtless seen in the papers. The pope imposed conditions upon my reception, requiring a pledge—secret or open—that I would not visit and speak to the Methodist mission. Of course I declined absolutely to consent to any conditions whatever, and the reception did not take place.

Then with a folly as incredible as that of the Vatican itself, the Methodist ministers, whose game was perfectly simple, because the pope had played it for them, and who had nothing to do but sit quiet, promptly issued an address of exultation which can only be called scurrilous, and with equal promptness I cancelled the arrange-

ments I had made for seeing them. Our clerical brother is capable of showing extraordinarily little sense when he gets into public affairs.

The only satisfaction I had out of the affair, and it was a very great satisfaction, was that on the one hand I administered a needed lesson to the Vatican, and on the other hand I made it understood that I feared the most powerful Protestant Church just as little as I feared the Roman Catholic.

If I were in politics, or intended to run for any public office, I should regard the incident as gravely compromising my usefulness as a candidate, but inasmuch as I have no idea that I shall ever again be a candidate for anything, I can take unalloyed satisfaction in having rendered what I regard as a small service to the cause of right-thinking in America.

To which *America* comments that the conditions for an audience imposed by the Pope on a non-Catholic American were most proper:

The Methodist mission in Rome has been conducted on the level of the *Menace*; no calumny against the Church has been too base to be used, no slander of the papacy has been too vile. Large sums of money have been spent to scatter tracts carrying these lying stories among the Catholic people of Italy, and other sums have been lavished on the purchase of perversions from the Faith. It was to counteract this infamous propaganda that the present pope, within a year or so, invited the Knights of Columbus to open attractive resorts for the young people of Rome. It was therefore in accordance with decency, as well as with "ethics and etiquette," that no one who believes in misrepresentation, deliberate, malignant, and persistent, or who will, by word of action, take part, by condonation or by assistance, in such defamation of the Church, should be welcomed as a guest in the home of the pope.

. . . Mr. Roosevelt has been in his grave for years, but the rule still obtains, no prominent non-Catholic American will be received at the Vatican who intends, after being welcomed there, to consort with its scurrilous libellers in Rome. It is a matter of decency, not bigotry.



## CHAPTER IX

### *The Sacred College*

**A**LTHOUGH THE POPE IS THE SOLE GOVERNOR OF THE CHURCH, HE has his council. This council is the Sacred College, whose members are called cardinals.

Frequently it has been said that the Sacred College is the senate of the Catholic Church. But there are senates and senates; that of Tiberius was not that of Augustus, nor was the senate of Augustus like that of the Republic. In one respect such a senate would be a formal or representative institution, in another, an assembly for government action. Let us place this senate of the Church between the two.

Singularly enough, no age limit has been fixed for the ecclesiastical senate. One of the cardinals recently promoted, Liénart, bishop of Lille, in France, was hardly forty-six when he received the berretta. But at the close of the fifteenth century Giovanni de' Medici, the future Leo X, was cardinal—cardinal deacon, it is true—at the age of seven. Several years later the Council of Trent passed rigorous canons against this practice. No longer could such a man as Lorenzo de' Medici haughtily advance towards the pope, his red soutane purposely opened to reveal his armour, insolently receiving the admonitions of the holy father. "Take care, Prince," muttered the irritated pontiff. "I can have that red hat fall from your head." "If your holiness deprives me of my head-dress," replied the young man, "I'll place one of iron there; it will become me much better." This anecdote, whatever its foundation, suffices to paint an age—and an abuse.

Theoretically no age limit or ecclesiastical position of cardinals has been prescribed. A simple "clerk" may be honoured with the

Roman purple. But he must be at least a clerk. The lay cardinals, once quite numerous, do not exist today, neither in fact nor by right. Tradition decrees that only bishops may be cardinal priests or cardinal bishops. But here again it is tradition which has placed limits which do not exist in theory. Cardinal Martel, who died July 11, 1899, was the last member of the Sacred College who had not previously the priestly order.

The head of the See of Ostia and Velletri is considered head of the order of bishops and dean of the Sacred College. Pius XI has officially confirmed this custom from the fourth century. It is this cardinal whose function it is, in case the newly elected pope is not bishop—the electors are not required to choose a bishop, or in fact a priest or any cleric—to consecrate the person chosen. Popes, celebrated or recent, who were not bishops and who had to receive the episcopal order from the hands of the cardinal dean, include Leo X, Martin V, and Gregory XVI, who died in 1831.

Although the cardinalcy comes down to us in a direct line from the ecclesiastical organization of ancient Rome, the title cardinal has not always been reserved for the dignitaries of the Church of Rome. There was a time when Aix-la-Chapelle, Compostello, Cologne, London, Magdeburg, Milan, Orléans, Ravenna, had their "cardinals." They were priests or canons of certain churches who had received the title from the Holy See (the word *cardo* meaning hinge or pivot), since they were attached or *incardinated* to their churches.

However, in 1567 Pius V reserved for the Church of Rome the sole right to have "cardinals"; the apostolic constitution of Sixtus V *Posquam verus ille* of December 13, 1585, fixed the number at seventy. Thus Moses had chosen seventy elders to aid him in governing Israel. But the number had been seventy-six under Pius IV; therefore nothing is set and the number may be even higher. In fact, certain persons believe that this is the view of the present pontiff, who would like to give the red hat to many more foreigners without curtailing too much the number of sons of

the peninsula. Seventy cardinals! That number is rarely reached. The Sacred College, like the Académie Française, does not frequently have its *plenum*. Innocent X in the sixteenth century is the only pope in fairly modern times who had seventy. At the death of Leo XIII there were sixty-four, at the death of Pius X, 57; and in 1931 the pontifical annual listed fifty-nine.

From the beginning, the nomination of cardinals underwent important variations. At the time Christianity had to choose between three popes, Gerson denounced this "abominable trinity" and later the Council of Constance and the Council of Basle (1431-1448) demanded that the papal nomination be subjected to the approval of the Sacred College. Pius II and Paul II took this imperative suggestion into consideration, but with Sixtus IV things changed. The situation was intolerable for the popes. Julius II well realized this when he had to contend for eleven hours in the consistory of December 1, 1504, to obtain consent for a new promotion. Finally it was given on condition that Bandinello Sauli be excluded. The following year he had to debate nine hours in a similar situation.

Julius II's successor, Leo X, decided on the *coup d'état* of July 1, 1517. At one blow and on his own initiative he named thirty-one cardinals and ended the conflict between pope and Sacred College. Since then, frequency or rarity of promotions depends entirely on the absolute will of the pope. However, it is a custom now that on quitting their office the assessor of the Holy Office, the secretaries of the Sacred College, the secretaries of the Council Congregation, the major-domo, the vice-camerlingo, and auditor of the treasury of the apostolic chamber, receive the red hat. Another tradition grants it to the nuncios of the first class, those stationed at Paris, Lisbon, Vienna, Madrid and (now) Berlin, whose recent representative is Cardinal Pacelli.

Frequently the pope creates one or more cardinals without giving their names to the consistory. He reserves publication for a later assembly, but takes care frequently to place the name of the

cardinal in an envelope in care of one of his confidants. The cardinal thus created remains *in petto*, "in the heart of the sovereign pontiff." This reservation *in petto* is frequently explained by the wisdom of keeping certain personages in the important positions they are occupying.

Curiously enough, should the pope die without revealing the name of the new cardinal, his intentions remain unfulfilled. To become a cardinal the name must be proclaimed in the secret consistory; this is an indispensable condition.

Created and proclaimed in the secret consistory, or assembly of the cardinals over which the pope presides and from which all other persons except kings are excluded, the new cardinals receive the red hat, principal sign of their dignity, in a public consistory—that is, in the presence of the ambassadors, the Roman patriciate, and a certain number of distinguished guests.

In Rome it is the sovereign pontiff himself who presents the berretta to the new princes of the Church gathered with the cardinals in the Throne room. A dignitary of the pontifical court then places the red skullcap on the cardinal's head and he retires to his residence to receive the homage of diplomats, prelates, and other dignitaries. Although this function is usually without incident, the receptions to the French Cardinal Dubourg and the German prelate, Monsignor von Gerlach, during the war formed an interesting contrast. The reception of the Frenchman passed with dignity; the reception of the German was overdone. The brusqueness of the German was never appreciated in Rome, and one day, accused of espionage, he quit the Vatican surreptitiously and never came back.

When the cardinal resides outside Rome the head of the state in certain Catholic countries presents the berretta. In France recently there occurred the case of a Protestant president, Gaston Doumergue, receiving the elected cardinal, Cerretti, the nuncio to Paris, and being canonically unable to place the red hat on his head, had it done by Cardinal Dubois in accordance with the



protocol. Had the president been a Catholic the ceremony would have included a mass in the chapel of the Elysée which still exists.

For the public consistory in the royal hall the pontifical throne is raised and the pontifical banners are flown. The new cardinals enter, each flanked by two of the elder princes; they kneel before the pope, kiss his slipper, then his hand, and finally receive the double accolade.

"For the glory of the all-powerful God and the embellishment of the Apostolic See, receive the red hat, the special sign of cardinalate dignity through which is signified that, up to death and to the effusion of blood, for the exaltation of the holy faith, peace and the tranquillity of Christian people, the increase and the conservation of the Roman Church, you must give proof of courage." Thus speaks the pope, and after the triple sign of the cross he places the large flat hat on the new cardinal's head for an instant. (This ancient covering, no longer worn, is used as a symbol.) This hat, too heavy to wear, used as a symbol, figures but four times in the life of the owner: at this ceremony of "creation," on his deathbed, where it is placed at his feet, at the solemn obsequies, when it is carried by his valet, and finally in the vaults of the choir of his cathedral if he has one, where it is hung above his mortal remains. There it stays until it falls into dust. Sometimes one can see two, three, or four such hats in a cathedral. Between the two extremes, "creation" and death, the cardinals wear the Roman hat of red felt, the hood of which is tied with golden laces or a twisted golden cord.

The ceremony over, all members of the Sacred College, old and new, repair to the Sistine Chapel to chant the *Te Deum*, and immediately afterwards is held the secret consistory for the rites of the closing and the opening of the mouth, the assignment of title, and the presentation of the ring.

"We close your mouth," the pope in the secret consistory then says to the new *porporati*, "so that neither in the consistories nor in the congregations nor in the other functions may you express

your view. . . ." Then, after these symbolic words which recall the old dispute between the pontificate and the Sacred College, between the electors and the elected, the holy father pronounces an allocution regarding the Church and the papacy, then proceeds to the commendation of the bishops. Then only does he "open the mouth" of the cardinals whom he had sentenced to silence; from now on they may express their views in consistories as well as in the congregations.

The opening of the mouth is, however, not indispensable for participation in conclave. Eugene IV (1431-1447) deprived the cardinals whose mouths had not been opened from voting, but Pius V in January, 1571, decreed otherwise and this abrogation has remained. Nowadays a cardinal who has not yet received the red hat or the skullcap has the right to attend a conclave and to vote.

The case of Cardinal McCloskey, archbishop of New York (who died in 1885) is cited as an instance. Created by Pius IX at the consistory of March 15, 1875, he had not yet received the hat when the conclave for the election of Leo XIII brought him to Rome. He failed to arrive within ten days, and it was a question of time, not the "opening of the mouth," which made him miss the conclave.

The pope then assigns each cardinal his titular church in Rome. Lastly, he places the ring on the cardinal's finger. The cardinal later pays for it by a generous donation to the *Propaganda Fide*, the missionary work. The ring is a simple sapphire without diamonds. Those who believe that the princes of the Church are really clad in purple will be disillusioned. Today they restrain themselves and let their clothes be dyed a simple scarlet, and this detail is symbolic of the differences in external pomp which separate the cardinals of yesterday from the cardinals of today. Although some still have carriages and motor-cars, others must walk; Benedict XV authorized them to walk in Rome on the simple condition that they are clad *in nigris*. The time of the cardinal mansion with sixteen servants has gone. The diminution of resources of the Holy See has simplified life greatly for

the princes of the Church. But in another respect they have retained the pomp of their forerunners. Today they still treat with kings as "their dear cousins," on a footing of equality. Even a lay republic, such as the French, gives them a place above that of ambassadors. In international etiquette they remain as before with the rank of princes of the blood.

The cardinal's dress is well known. We have just spoken of the red hat, *galerus ruber*, the most noticeable part of their attire. It may be noted that this is the symbol of attachment to the pope. "All that pertains to the pope is red"—and not white, as is commonly believed. Red is the hood of the pope, red is his town hat, red is his old-time house hat, the *camauro* which Anatole France so bizarrely attributes to Julius II. The *bussolanti* who serve him and the *sedari* who carry him, are in red. Likewise the prelates who, for example, surround him when he presides at the altar of Saint Peter's. And red is also worn by his most intimate councillors which the Roman chancellery designates by majestic titles reflecting the splendour of the pontificate, the eminent and the most reverend lord cardinals.

There is, however, one exception to red: the times of mourning or of penitence, such as Lent, Advent, the time between death and election of a pope. Then the cardinals are seen dressed in violet—but the skullcap remains red. There is another exception: the cardinals belonging to religious orders wear their costumes—a Benedictine remains in black, a Franciscan cardinal in grey. (The grey, an ash-grey, is the primitive colour of the Franciscans. Today they are dressed in brown, but the grey remains as the soutane for Franciscan bishops and cardinals.) Their caps remain red. And finally an exception in a reverse sense: it is the privilege of the archbishop of Gniezno and Poznan (Gnesen and Posen), primate of Poland, to clothe himself in red—but he does not possess the skullcap. It is the exception which confirms the rule.

As for the pupils of the German college, who are all dressed in red and who are familiarly known as the "shrimps" (*gamberi*

*colti*), the use of that colour had a quite different origin. It was due to the disturbances raised by these young clerics (if one believes Roman gossipers) that the police placed them in uniform easily distinguishable. It can be observed, moreover, that their red is vivid, really carmine, very distinct from the "purple" which is solely for cardinals.

On going out, the cardinals wear the red felt hat with the golden cord, and either the large cloak called *ferriolo* or the flapping Roman mantle in red *moiré*. In their palaces or their apartments they wear nothing but the skullcap; the *berretta* remains in the antechamber on a silver plate, a sign that they are *a casa*.

The chief duty of the cardinals is to act as councillors of the pope. Their privileges are so great and their association with the pontificate so close that sometimes it is necessary to reprimand these beneficiaries in matters of behaviour, dogma, and discipline. If, sometimes, the reprimand fails, the normal solution is suspension of the faulty cardinal. Thus in the eighteenth century Cardinal de Rohan, this sumptuous and naïve prelate whose ridiculous passion for Queen Marie-Antoinette was exploited by an adventuress, was suspended by Pius VI and refused admission to the conclaves after the scandal known as "The Queen's Necklace." Sometimes if the cardinal continues to err he is deposed, as was the case of Odet de Coligny, who openly professed Calvinism and was dismissed by Pius IV.

Instances of resignation are also quite rare. The case of Cæsar Borgia is well known, and more recently that of Louis Billot. This cardinal, a famous theologian, had received the red hat when he was the leading professor of the Gregorian university, the great Roman university of the Society of Jesus. But neither his great learning nor his advanced age tempered the vehemence of his political activity. When, after the war, the French Government renewed relations with the Vatican, the reverend Father Billot did not disguise his chagrin. Several years later, when Pius XI condemned the doctrines of the *Action Française* movement, the religious savant was so indignant he did not hide the fact from

anyone, not even from his confessor. He abandoned his titles, his congregations, everything, and resigned. With the benediction of the holy father he retired as a simple priest to the religious house of Galloro, conducted by the general of the Jesuits in person. There was rumour later that Cardinal Billot had sent a letter of sympathy to Leon Daudet, leader of the *Action Française*, after the pope's condemnation, but no one has proved such a letter exists and it seems unbelievable that a priest, well knowing the duty of obedience, or even a respectable man, would betray his chief in such a manner.

Can it be said that a cardinal must dovetail his conduct and his views with that of the successive and diverse popes to whom he owes allegiance? Common sense answers no. But in many instances the cardinal must maintain a dignified silence. That is exactly what Cardinal Rampolla, secretary of state, did after the death of Leo XIII. With the new sovereign pontiff, the saintly Pope Pius X and especially with his new secretary of state, Cardinal Merry del Val, new tendencies held the day, quite different, many cardinals believed, from what they had expected on election day. Cardinal Rampolla maintained in his heart the dead pope's statement, "We have served the Church well," and in the shadow of Saint Martha, and in silence, the archpriest of the basilica of the Vatican spent his days. He did not grow bitter. Only once did he leave his sanctuary. Alarmed by growing difficulties in many places, his presence, his aid, perhaps, was asked by the new regime. The minister of the old regime came, listened respectfully, benignly, attentively, then said, "Too much has changed; I can serve in no way." He returned to the silence in which he died. That is how a cardinal usually conducts himself when circumstances separate him from the pope.

But in addition to their specifically religious rôle, many cardinals have played and are playing a significant rôle in political history. One has only to look at the Consalvis, the Antonellis, the Rampollas, the Merry del Vals and the Gasparis. Or to recall

that decisive collision between Bonaparte and Consalvi in the Concordat negotiations of 1802. Bonaparte withdrew several articles whose publication meanwhile had been stopped, and believed he had the pontifical negotiator at his mercy, owing to the continual threat of a break in the *pourparlers*. But Cardinal Consalvi obstinately stuck to the substance and the form of the text.

"You want to break negotiations," Bonaparte cried out one day. "So be it. . . . Henry VIII changed the religion of his country and I am more powerful than Henry VIII. Rome will weep tears of blood, but it will be too late. You may leave; that is the best thing you can do. When are you leaving?"

"After dinner, General," replied Consalvi, coldly.

And this simple remark saved the Concordat.

The political rôle of the cardinals has produced an immediate consequence: the interest which the diverse nations take in their "representation" in the body of the Sacred College. Today when it is able to and should contain prelates from all nations, there are still a greater number of Italians. But the progress of the "foreigners" has been marked. At the death of Gregory XVI in 1846, there were only eight non-Italians. Pius IX in his thirty-two years' reign created 183 cardinals, of whom fifty-one were chosen outside of Italy, and at his death in 1878 there were twenty-five living non-Italians. At the death of Leo XIII in 1903, the number remained unchanged, with one American, Cardinal McCloskey, and twenty-nine Italians. In 1914, at the death of Pius X, there were thirty-two Italians and twenty-five foreigners, three of whom represented the United States, Cardinals Farley, Gibbons, and O'Connell. In 1915 the usual proportions were reversed: twenty-nine Italians and thirty-one foreigners. Since then there has been a long period of equality, thirty-two and thirty-two. The pontifical annual of 1931 shows twenty-nine Italians and thirty foreign cardinals, four of whom are from the United States—Cardinals Dougherty, Hayes, Mundelein, and O'Connell.

The growing number of Americans must be noted. If the Sacred College can be considered as a parliament where all the nations

are "represented" it may be said that in the field of nationalities the American cardinals, facing the powerful group of Italians, can be considered as *the leaders of the opposition*. Naturally this must not be taken to indicate that they threaten the unity of the Church, as in ancient times when the French cardinals of the fifteenth century at the Councils of Basle and Constance named a French pope against the nomination of an Italian by their Italian colleagues. But the American cardinals today never fail to underline the apparent or real inequality in the life of the Sacred College. Frequently they have expressed their regret over the tendency of the Italians to consider the election of a pope a purely Italian matter. They have continually expressed the desire that time be given for the arrival of foreign cardinals to the conclaves. At the next conclave America will be represented. In time the regulations may again be changed so that South Americans and Australians will be able to arrive on time—although the aeroplane may soon settle that problem for them.

The American cardinals are also interested in the nationality of the pope. In 1922 their sympathy for Cardinal Mercier of Belgium was noted, and not without reason. Not only was the great cardinal of Malines admired for his heroism and for his holiness, but an opportunity was seen for breaking the tradition which dates from the time of the Great Schism that the pope should be an Italian. (There were, in fact, three exceptions, the two Spanish Borgias and the Dutch Adrian VI.) Before that date, however, foreigners were most numerous. Twenty-two Orientals up to the ninth century, then seventeen Frenchmen, five of whom were in Avignon, twenty-two Spanish or British, five Germans. With Cardinal Mercier, Belgium wished to inscribe itself for the most glorious prize in the world.

The same spirit explains why American cardinals willingly permit themselves to be Latinized but do not accept Italianization. Recently they noted with a surprise shared by other foreign cardinals that the pontifical emissary now reads the ritual *biglietto* in Italian instead of Latin. The "reaction" was vigorously Anglo-

Saxon: to the stupefaction, one might almost say to the scandal, of Rome, his eminence Cardinal Hayes, in taking the title to his church of *Santa Maria in Via*, April 3, 1924, gave his sermon in English. (It may be added that this prelate was perfectly justified.) The *biglietto* does not make the new cardinal the councillor of a simple temporal sovereign, but the collaborator of the head of a universal Church where all the nations have their place. And the language of that Church is Latin, as in materialistic diplomacy it is French. The innovation of the *biglietto* in Italian, therefore, renders no service either to the peace among nations or to the unity of the Church.

Finally, the recent efforts of the American cardinals to have larger representation for their country in the Sacred College must be noted. In March, 1924, Monsignor Hayes, archbishop of New York, and Monsignor Mundelein, archbishop of Chicago, were given the cardinal hats. The nation was already represented by Monsignor O'Connell, archbishop of Boston since 1911, and Monsignor Dougherty, archbishop of Philadelphia since 1921. Foreign nations rarely reach this high a representation, but this number does not yet correspond to the desires of American Catholics. In brief, the American viewpoint, which has already reached the ears of many Italian cardinals, is that "representation should be proportional to the number of the faithful and to their contributions."

But . . . But Rome is Rome.

Nevertheless, although the cardinals are all councillors of the pope, it is evident that these councillors, thanks to the modern express trains, the new ocean liners and the aeroplane, not to mention the telephone and the radio, may just as well reside in Paris or New York as in Rome or in the near-by cities of Italy. History in the past fifty years has shown the Church more favorable to the foreign element, and as it undergoes new changes, following even the oscillations of pontifical policies, that is to say, according to alternating ideas of concentration and of expansion, it may change its proportions accordingly. "Under the force of certain necessities," writes the wise Monsignor Duchesne, "the Roman



Church, unique centre of Christian unity, has seen itself obliged to tighten and to fortify the bonds between itself and the churches confided to its universal solicitude. But in other times, history shows, it had arranged matters well in another system of relationship. Ecclesiastical concentration, one should not say it too loud, is not an ideal, but a means."

The creation of the Vatican state, the solution of the Roman question, will undoubtedly affect the composition of the Sacred College. The Vatican becomes more and more international as its place as a nation grows more secure. It was not so long ago since a French vessel, the *Oronoco*, tarried a whole year at Civitavecchia, at the order of Thiers and MacMahon, ready to bear the pope to a new country which would become the centre of the Catholic Church. On the testimony of Count Sforza we know that not very long ago the pope was prepared to go to Vienna in case difficulties with the anti-clerical Italian ministries reached a crisis, and there has been some talk of the Vatican moving to America. Idle as this may seem to Americans, Roman writers have considered it seriously for many reasons, one because of the "not-distant possibility that the Catholic population of the Republic will increase until this faith becomes the prevalent religion," and another, because "America is regarded as the ideal land, where in its days of trial the Church of Rome may find protection and hospitality." Such thought, of course, disappeared in the first enthusiasm of the Mussolini treaties. But, who knows, they may have been revived two years later when the Fascisti mobs burned the pontiff's portrait and shouted, "Down with the pope," in the streets of Rome.

Will a foreign pope soon rule the Vatican? Two foreign cardinals have in recent times received large votes at conclaves—Mercier of Belgium and the Anglo-Basque Merry del Val. Will an American pope ever be elected? The probability is increasing. The main *political* reasons against a foreigner have been eliminated.

What is needed is a great personality, a great leader. The Rev. John Schwartzmeier proposes a candidate. "When Signor Musso-

lini settled the Roman question," he claims, "he opened the door for an American to fill the chair of Peter. . . . When the Sacred College meets to elect a successor to Pius XI it would not surprise the American priesthood to see the triple crown settle on the head of Chicago's cardinal, George William Mundelein." The American claim would be backed by 20,000,000 Catholics (25,000,000 is the estimate of certain authorities who include the colonies) who have 17,000 churches and chapels, 20 universities, 1,522 superior schools, 5,690 parochial schools, and who, moreover, have practically financed the Vatican since the day of the dissolution of the Papal States. An American Catholic of *unquestioned greatness*, now that the political barrier has been removed, could, for the first time in history, be elected pope in Rome.

PART III

COURTS AND ADMINISTRATION



## CHAPTER X

### *How the Catholic Church Is Governed*

BY THE APOSTOLIC CONSTITUTION OF PIUS X THE CENTRAL ADMINISTRATION of the Catholic Church is divided into three groups—sacred congregations, tribunals, and offices. There have been only slight changes. (The Index, for example, has been joined to the Holy Office, and the Eastern Church is a later creation.) Following is the list of organizations which will now be considered:

#### I. Sacred Congregations

1. Congregation of the Holy Office
2. The Consistorial Congregation
3. Congregation on the Discipline of the Sacraments
4. Congregation of the Council
5. Congregations for the Affairs of Religious
6. Congregation for the Propagation of the Faith
7. Congregation of the Index
8. Congregation of the Sacred Rites
9. Congregation of the Eastern Church
10. The Ceremonial Congregation
11. Congregation of Extraordinary Ecclesiastical Affairs
12. Congregation of Seminaries, Universities, and Studies.

#### II. Tribunals

1. The Sacred Penitentiaria (or Penitentiary)
2. The Sacred Roman Rota
3. The Apostolic Segnatura.

#### III. Offices

1. The Apostolic Cancellaria (or chancellery)
2. The Apostolic Dataria (or datary)

3. The Secretariat of State
4. The Secretariat of Briefs to Princes and of Latin Letters.

One must not confound the Roman "congregations" of which we will now speak, with simple "congregations." The Roman congregations are, *grosso modo*, equivalent to the ministeries or the secretariats of state in civil society. The other congregations are the associations of religious men and women, joined to carry on their common spiritual ideals.

The Roman congregations were born in the sixteenth century, that period of intense fermentation when, under the influence of the Reformation, the Catholic Church "reacted" most energetically, evolved its own characteristics and diversified them, made them flexible, and reorganized itself in order to face the new necessities of modern times. To assure the regular progress of this immense yet delicate machine the popes had recourse to two means: they centralized and they specialized. The Roman congregations therefore prepared the administrative work of the pope, frequently up to the moment of signature.

Immediately after the Council of Trent they were constituted for the expedition of current affairs in a manner decidedly much too "parliamentary" for the consistories. Although the latter continued to convene the assemblies of the cardinals, they were no longer the deliberative body of the Church; they became simply the registration department where the decisions already taken were published before the silent cardinals.

The congregation was something different. Less glorious than the consistory, including only a few cardinals, it, however, had the privilege, by virtue of being a permanent pontifical delegation, of giving decisions on one or another matter of Church administration. The pope usually approved these decisions and ordered their publication. These, therefore, are the Roman congregations which within the Church and with the backing of the pope have really become the central power—*rem sine titulo*. In this respect the Church does not differ greatly from the modern

states, or even the Roman empire, where they are usually the administrative arms of the government.

The organization of a congregation is quite simple. At the head of each there is a cardinal prefect appointed by the pope. In rare instances the pope himself is prefect, in which case he is seconded by a cardinal secretary. For example, when Benedict XV founded the Congregation *pro Ecclesia orientali* (the Eastern Church Congregation) he took such special interest in it that he placed it under his personal presidency.

To the cardinal prefect the pope adds several other cardinals. Officers and employees are then added whose duty it is to study questions which arise, and present their findings to the cardinals for decision. Finally, each congregation may have its experts or consultors, a great majority of whom are ecclesiastics, but an important minority are laymen of learning and renown.

The most ancient congregation is the Tribunal of the Inquisitors of the Holy Office. Viewed historically, without political passion and moreover without the cloak of daily-newspaper romance, the Holy Office is first of all the reaction, frequently forceful, as were the manners of the time, and frequently arbitrary, as were the tribunals of that day, within a society which saw its existence threatened and which defended itself. Although it was not before 1548 that Pope Paul IV gave the congregation its present form, it was at the end of the twelfth century that Innocent III created it when he prepared an inquisitorial tribunal for the purpose of suppressing the heresy of the Albigenses. The nobility of the Midi of France, the debauched Raymond VI, Count of Toulouse at their head, had entertained this new so-called Albigensian heresy, which lauded evil, advocated the abolition of the family, and legitimized more than one crime, including the murder of the pontifical legate, Pierre de Castelnau.

After "utilizing" the temporal war of the North and the Midi against the Albigenses, the Holy Office continued to fulfil its double mission of watching and maintaining the integrity of faith and morals. The Supreme Sacred Congregation, the canonists

said, was the highest authority in the Roman Curia, therefore it was not surprising that the pope himself remained head of this Congregation. It must also be noted that for the purpose of fighting the heretics and those who scoffed at the decision of the Holy Office, the latter institution from its beginning functioned as a veritable court of justice.

The Holy Office had the unique privilege of making doctrinal decisions on questions of dogma and morals. The dogmatic decrees always received pontifical approval. Frequently the pope took full judicial responsibility for the decisions and placed his own authority on the acts of the congregation.

Sorcery and occultism were always watched with a severe eye by the Church. In ancient times, when demons were credited with a great number of extraordinary phenomena, it was natural that magicians, necromancers, sorcerers, and especially women sorcerers who flattered themselves that they participated in the evil powers of Satan, were treated with the harshness which their presumed master deserved. In modern times, when neurology and various sciences have appreciably cleared the supernatural field, the Church still continues its surveillance over the physical and mental ravages produced by badly equipped research. Now as then, Rome watches carefully so the faithful are not "ensnared" by the devil; that is to say, that the admiration, the homage and the gratitude due the true God are not deflected in the souls of the simple folk, towards counterfeit miracles.

The Holy Office has much to do. This must be said in justice to it, that being the watcher of the supernatural, it does not easily permit ready events or a new spirit to penetrate its mysterious domain. Before the cries of "miracle!" of the hasty crowds, the present case of the stigmatized girl of Konnersreuth, Germany, the Christ of Limpas, the Virgin of Ezquioga, and the like, the magistrates of the Holy Office have remained reserved, reticent, expectant, hostile in appearance, like the prefects of the Second Empire. Being sincere Christians, they believe certainly that the Saviour may at any time manifest himself and that the manifesta-

tions will show his power, his grandeur, and his goodness. But they have never forgotten the passage in the Gospels where Jesus reproaches the Jews for never being able to believe without miracles. Moreover, they understand how human imagination, with the best of intentions in the world, may abuse and be abused. So, with their spirit full of faith but their heads covered with prudence, they fortify themselves in a passive "wait and see" stronghold. Sometimes, when the case seems urgent, they may send a special delegate, a *missus dominicus*. In 1919, for instance, it may be remembered that the visions which filled Marienthal like a Mount Carmel, disappeared as by enchantment on the arrival of the apostolic visitor, Father Szabo. As for the innumerable army of gentlemen who pretend to put themselves in contact with the spirits by means of tables, keys, cards, tea grounds, dreams, and other means more or less mysterious or naïve, their practices also may come to the notice of the Holy Office.

But there are other matters more serious than these relatively innocent "sorceries" which have their origins in so many dramas of love and jealousy. These are the occult and complicated practices of sadism and its orgies, first among which must be mentioned the black mass. The world knows that the black mass is a parody of the Roman mass, in which a "priest" employs the sacred utensils and really celebrates a mass addressed not to the Creator, but to Satan, whose name is substituted for the name of Christ and of God. As there are no priests to consecrate the host, stolen hosts are used; this explains why during the Holy Week of each year there are numerous thefts of consecrated wafers in certain churches.

The celebration of the black mass, unbelievable as this may seem to modern ears, is much more widely practised than suspected. Joris Karl Huysmans, the celebrated novelist, who frequently participated at a black mass before becoming a Catholic, affirms that they are commonly practised in Paris and in Lyons, and that in Paris the centre of the occult sect is in the quiet and



restricted neighbourhood between Saint Sulpice and the Observatory.

Although these practices in many cases are subjects for the psychiatrist rather than the theologian, they nevertheless constitute a sacrilege which the Holy Office punishes, the strongest reason being that the black mass in almost all cases is accompanied by sexual dissoluteness. Vintras, who died in Lyon in 1875, founded a "Church of the Compassion," of which he was the "prophet," celebrated the services where "priests" and "communicants" abandoned, the first their chasubles, the others all their clothes. In later years Vintras was followed by his favourite disciple, Geoffrey, whom he had named Jehorael. Likewise in the black mass described by Huysmans and Serge Basset, the walls of the chapel were ornamented with erotic symbols. On the altar, amid black candles, a he-goat was enthroned, and by its side lay a naked woman. The services were terminated by an orgy. In Lyons there recently was exposed "the Carmel sect," where all the men possessed all the women, and the women the men, and where the "priest," who called himself "Dr. Baptiste" and who claimed he was the incarnation of Saint John the Baptist, offered women the host of the black mass. We could prolong these examples indefinitely. There are always in these practices moral derangement, carnality, eroticism, which revolt, break all bounds, and attack not only God, but common morals and all that is natural and normal. The Holy Office in attempting to reduce this disturbing army of the sick and the perverse, therefore renders service to public health and welfare.

To the Congregation of the Index we will devote a separate chapter; the Consistorial Congregation, too, has much in common with the Holy Office, the same head, the pope, and the same obligation to secrecy for the cardinals and all they employ. Founded by Sixtus V in 1588, it was reorganized by Pius X. In addition to the work of preparing the consistories, this congregation's other important function is the nomination of bishops. It also occupies itself with the maintenance and the creation of dioceses and is,

in short, the department of personnel. It also is the department of diocesan discipline.

It is in this last-named function that it made a decision of "inopportune" (*non expedire*) in 1929 in the case of American priests joining the Rotary Club. It is understood that the only reason for this decree was the fear of the Consistorial Congregation of the influence or predominance of Freemasons—business men, industrialists, and politicians—in the American, British, and other Rotary organizations. Juridically, at least, the decision does not affect Catholic laymen.

The Congregation on the Discipline of the Sacraments is the child of Pius X and dates from 1908. As its name indicates, it deals with all matters concerning sacramentary discipline—excepting, of course, the prerogatives of the Holy Office in matters of dogma and the prerogatives of the Congregation of Rites in matters of ceremony.

Of all the sacraments, marriage is evidently the most contentious subject. Under Leo XIII the Holy Office carried out a most exhaustive study of the validity of Anglican ordinations. To the Congregation of Rites, apply persons desiring to celebrate a mass in a private chapel, or to erect an altar in the open, or to celebrate a mass on a new ocean liner or a little boat such as Alain Gerbault's *Fire Crest*, send their requests. But, in dealing chiefly with marriage, its regulations affect all laymen. And annulment of marriage also comes under this department; to this subject we shall devote a later chapter.

On August 2, 1564, Pope Pius IV formed a commission of eight cardinals to direct the execution of the decisions of the Council of Trent. The Council no longer exists, but the congregation of the Council functions today. It concerns itself with the general discipline of the clergy and the revision of councils. It is, in fact, a vast ministry of the interior.

The Congregation of the *Propaganda Fide*, which dates from

the bull of Pope Gregory XV, June 22, 1622, is one of the most important organs of the Catholic Church. In a literal sense the Congregation for the Propagation of the Faith would include the entire Church. In actuality this is the department through which the Church develops Christianity among infidels, heretics, schismatics and *in partibus infidelium*. In short, the *Propaganda* reigns over the missions throughout the world; it is a universe within a universe. Its power is so vast that the cardinal who presides over the *Propaganda* (today the Italian Cardinal Fumasoni Biondi Rossum) is usually called by the curious name, "The Red Pope."

Two modern popes, Pius X and Benedict XV, curtailed the field of this congregation greatly. The bull *Sapienti Consilio* removed Great Britain, the Netherlands, Canada, Newfoundland, Luxembourg, and the United States from its jurisdiction. Of course these nations had long ceased to have direct relations with the *Propaganda*. The *motu proprio Dei Providentis* of May 1, 1917, removed the Eastern churches. But this double amputation did not result in the transformation of the *Propaganda* into a sinecure. The headquarters of the Red Pope still direct the manoeuvres of eleven thousand preachers in missions (three thousand of whom are native-born), five thousand friars (fifteen hundred native-born), and twenty-eight thousand nuns (of whom eleven thousand are native-born). It is frequently asked if there are enough of these missionaries to attain the final goal of the Church—the conversion of all humanity to Christianity. If, in fact, the number of living human beings is estimated at two billions, the principal religions are divided as follows: 785,000,000 pagans, 304,000,000 Catholics, 227,000,000 Mohammedans, 212,000,000 Protestants, 157,000,000 schismatics, and 15,000,000 Jews. There is evidently much to be done by the *Propaganda Fide*.

For the observance of liturgical regulations, the celebration of the holy sacrifice, administration of the sacraments, recitation of the Divine Office, the Pope Sixtus V created the Congregation of the Rites. It has charge of beatifications and of canonizations. This is an enormous undertaking usually lasting several lifetimes

during which the claims of the *postulators*, the advocates, the experts, are heard and the testimony on miracles taken. At least fifty years usually must pass in study and taking evidence; the exception was that in favour of Saint Theresa of the Infant Jesus, who was canonized in 1925.

Marie Francesca Theresa Martin, later known as Sister Theresa of the Carmelite Convent of Lisieux, in France, and still later famed throughout the Catholic world as "The Little Flower," was raised to the company of saints in the most impressive ceremony Saint Peter's had witnessed in many years.

The great basilica had undergone a bright and magic transformation. The exterior was hung and outlined with some fifty thousand little oil-lamps, each burning with a precarious windy flame, so that at night the vast dome at a distance floated in the darkness like a jewelled crown of a size fit only for a god.

The interior was hung with a hundred thousand electric lights, their more modern harsher tones hidden in cascades of crystal, circle upon circle, each lower one wider than the other, the festoons paralleling the gorgeous marble and red porphyry pillars, at altar and shrine.

The Swiss Guards in colours operatic with mediæval helmets, cuirassed and carrying spears, clinked as they turned. Papal nobility came in black velvet laden with chains of massive gold. There were a hundred and fifty bishops, white men and black men and men with grey faces, Nordic and Negroid and Oriental; thirty-four cardinals in purple and gold; a company of soldiers brazen in the white sunshine which dominated the golden flamboyant splendour of artifice and cut diagonals through the halls and walls. Great clouds of incense filled eye and nose and mouth, pungent and heavy, while Roman humanity added its own smell of unbathed bodies and old clothes when at least forty thousand persons crashed through the doors of Saint Peter's and did not quite fill all the floor space.

Naves, cloisters, chapels, porticos, aisles, alcoves—wherever there was hope of seeing or hearing any part of the ceremony of canonization—were so thick with people it became difficult to raise a

hand to a perspiring forehead. Reverent, eager, hot humanity, somewhat envious of the many thousands who were seated in hundreds of small rows, grouped by religious order, or by calling, French nuns in pale blue with enormous white head-dresses, Dominican Friars, Trappists, Knights of Malta, a group of worldly noblemen, Bourbon and Naples dynasties, members of the Braganza, Orléans, Saxon, Hapsburg, and Portuguese royal houses, a division of foreign press representatives—90 per cent of the mob in universal black, the rest resplendent as the lilies of the field which outshone Solomon.

There were many little worlds in one. At the Great Altar the pope was saying mass, while several hundred feet away squads of papal gendarmes, relieving other squads, came, presented arms, stood at attention, were suddenly overtaken by the progress of the ritual which required all to kneel, kneeled, got up, stood again at attention with the rifles, marched and countermarched.

A priest, leading twenty parishioners who had no chance of getting close to things, engaged in singing a litany.

*"Sancta Maria, Mother Inviolata,"* chanted the priest.

*"Ora pro nobis,"* replied the twenty.

*"Sancta Maria, Queen of Heaven."*

*"Ora pro nobis."*

Others who were far away made the best of it. Here a party of peasants were having a picnic in Saint Peter's. There were cold meats, chocolate, much bread, and a flask of wine. The old peasant woman, in her coarse peasant clothes, had sat down on the stone floor and spread her legs wide under her long wide dress. The lunch was laid out on the dress. The children sat in two rows, alongside the bulges the legs made, and used them as a table.

Other children, unaware of the greatness of the occasion, were playing tag. They shrilled. Several were clattering among the sacred statues, hanging over the arms of saints and disciples, trying to sit in the lap of a statue. Grown women were climbing the wooden confessionals, hoping from a height to catch a glimpse of the pope. Time after time a passage had to be cleared by main

force to bring out those who had fainted; they were taken to the three hospitals which had been installed at vantage points in the church.

"*Viva il papa! Viva il papa!*" Strange, incongruous, disturbing to Anglo-Saxon ears were the shouts and rounds of applause which greeted the pope on his arrival and departure. The Italians began shouting, and the handclapping and the cries followed in thirty languages, mingling with the universal applause. For moments the great ceremony seemed to be a theatre piece on Broadway or Leicester Square. Another seeming incongruity—and this surprised even the dramatic Latins—was the microphone with its loud speakers, placed on the great Altar of Bernini, carrying the pope's prayers in four directions, metallically and sometimes with a weird rasping sound as of static.

The pope was borne on the *sedia* throne, under a baldachin, flanked by two men who waved golden fans in a languorous Oriental fashion. From over the main portal, suddenly, silver trumpets sounded the triumphal march of Silvati, and the chief ceremonies began at ten o'clock.

The pope occupied the central throne. The cardinal procurator of canonization and the consistorial advocate approached, kneeled, and prayed to the pope to add the name of Sister Theresa of Lisieux to the list of saints. The pope and forty thousand genuflected. The chaplain sang the Litany of Saints, and the request was repeated by the advocate.

Again the conventional ceremonies followed, all according to ancient ritual, and the pope uttered the formula for canonization, then intoned the *Te Deum*, then recited the first prayer for the new saint. Solemn mass followed. Then came nobly clad men bringing gifts. They carried many fine candles, two loaves of bread, the one gilded, the other silvered, wine in two miniature barrels and three cages filled with doves and gaily coloured wild birds. These the pope accepted. The great procession followed. Through the somber black masses passed the line of regal splendour, all in gold brocade and purple and jewelled crowns, passed

slowly down the main aisle while Saint Peter's echoed again with theatrical applause and loud "*vivas*."

The Congregation of Ceremonials has charge of the etiquette and customs of the pontifical court; it decides on the order of precedence in ceremonies, regulates the ceremonials of solemn and private audiences, and fixes ecclesiastical costumes. Charged with safeguarding all points of usage and tradition, it naturally has as its prefect the dean of the Sacred College.

The Congregation of Extraordinary Ecclesiastical Affairs was one of the most important if not the most important in the Roman Curia. Born under fortuitous circumstances in the troubled hours of 1793, Pius VI charged it with the mission of regulating ecclesiastical affairs in France. Then in 1814 Pius VII declared its duty was to examine and judge, in accordance with pontifical law and dignity, all affairs of the Catholic world which are submitted to the decision of the Holy See. Every Thursday this congregation meets at the apartment of the cardinal secretary of state, who is in a manner the prefect. All ecclesiastical and political matters of a diplomatic nature are taken up. To mention but one subject of this congregation—the concordats.

The Sacred Congregation of Studies, created by Sixtus V in 1588, was changed by a *motu proprio* of Benedict XV in 1915 into the Sacred Congregations of Seminaries, Universities, and Studies. At first it had charge of all teaching establishments of the Roman states, then the Catholic universities including those of France, Britain, and Austria. Today it has administrative authority over all superior teaching institutions which have religious heads.

Detached in 1917 from the *Propaganda*, the Congregation of the Eastern Church has the pope himself as prefect. All affairs of any nature concerning people, discipline, or rites of the Eastern Church, that is to say, the Greek, Armenian, Russian, Rumanian, and similar Churches, united in Rome, are under his jurisdiction.

The Greco-Rumanian group had a million adherents, the Greek-Ruthenian a fourth as many; there are more than a hundred thousand Greek Melachites whose rites are in Arabic, their ceremonies Greek; there are three hundred thousand Syro-Maronites who mix Syrian and Arabic in their prayers. In Mesopotamia (Iraq), Persia, and Kurdistan there are forty thousand Syro-Chaldeans, and a hundred thousand Armenians are scattered from Hungary to Persia; in Egypt the Coptic rite with ten thousand faithful, and in Abyssinia the Ethiopian with twenty-five thousand adherents. The Syrian rite of Malabar, in Hindustan, is followed by two hundred thousand Catholics. In addition there are the pure Greek, the Greco-Bulgarian, the pure Syrian, and other branches.

The most interesting activity of the Congregation pro Ecclesia Orientali is the preservation of these rituals; the present pontificate turns its back resolutely on Latinisation.

Pope Clement VII in 1592 created the Congregation of the Building of Saint Peter's, to use the gifts and legacies for the reconstruction and ornamentation of the Basilica of the Holy Apostles. Until 1870 it also executed all pious legacies in the Roman states. Today it occupies itself with no more than the patrimony of the Vatican basilica.

These are the congregations whose duties are minutely delimited by Pius X in the bull *Sapienti Consilio*; unknown to the general public, they hold daily, weekly, or monthly meetings and constitute what has been called the working machinery of the Church.

They may be compared to the ministerial departments of a modern state. In one respect they are different—the supreme pontiff may exercise a personal pressure upon them such as no ruler or prime minister can on his department, with the possible exception of the President of the United States, whose powers, especially lately, have been increased. The American President, however, has to consider the power of the Senate, whereas in the Church the very opposite is true.



## CHAPTER XI

### *The Modernization of the Index*

IN CONTENT, MERELY A LIST OF BOOKS WHICH COMMUNICANTS MUST not read, the Index, viewed historically, is a fascinating guide to many changes in the Catholic Church throughout the ages.

Mystery, controversy, and considerable ignorance surround this little book which embodies the vast hope of the Vatican to preserve the minds of the faithful from the danger of the printed word. Throughout the world people speak of an *Index Expurgatorius* when such a work does not exist, and except for a few years, centuries ago, in Spain, never has existed. People believe the present edition is circulated secretly or that copies can be obtained with difficulty and only at a great price. Myths and fantastic popular fallacies abound. Enemies of the Index have at times stated it forbids the Bible; friends of the Index call it the salvation of the purity of the Christian faith.

For some three centuries in more than a hundred different editions the *Index librorum prohibitorum* has been issued by the Church from Rome; the latest edition, 1930, in Italian, has the title *Indice dei Libri Proibiti*, and can be had in almost any bookshop in Italy for a few cents and in most Catholic bookshops anywhere in the world for a few shillings. It is not the work of the Jesuits, as commonly believed. Dominican fathers have generally been responsible for the policy of Church censorship and almost all the secretaries of the congregation which edits the Index have been Dominicans, although its very first was a Franciscan. The Bible is not listed in the present edition, although various kinds of Bibles have been listed in the early editions. As regards the Book of Books, the Irish priest, Rev. Dr. Timothy Hurley, explains that "all translations made in vernacular languages by

non-Catholics, and especially those made by Bible societies, are strictly forbidden. . . . All books adverse to the Catholic Church are forbidden to be read by Roman Catholics, under pain of mortal sin or even excommunication."

But even good and faithful Catholics sometimes are ignorant of the Index. There is, for instance, the case of a priest presenting his brightest Sunday-school boy with a copy of Locke's *Essay on Human Understanding* which was indexed in 1734. In 1890 Bishop Rass in Rome printed a volume by Justus Lipsius which had been condemned on two previous Indexes, and Bishop Malou issued a new edition of a prohibited book without realizing his error. In 1883 the vicar-general of Lorenzi printed a treatise by Geiler von Keisersberg, forgetting or not knowing that this German had appeared in early Indexes as a heresiarch of the first class.

One of the important changes in modern church history has been the reunion of the Congregation of the Index with the Holy Office. The Holy Office generally acts repressively, while the Index acts preventively. The Catholic Church has held it its duty, as guardian of the moral health of humanity, to paste on products it believes toxic a label "for external use only" or more frequently the word "poison." The Index is the medicine cabinet of the Church.

To certain persons, moreover, the Church lends a key. The Index is not meant to disturb the work of savants, professors, students, and the cabinet is opened to them on demand, provided it is made in good faith. There are only a few prohibited books now for which a student must have extraordinary permission, and these are not books the laymen would suspect, but works of modern controversy, as, for example, those of Charles Maurras, the theorizer of the French newspaper, *L'Action Française*.

#### HOW BOOKS ARE BANNED

The manner of procedure in indexing books is judicial, scrupulous, but simple and relatively rapid. Sometimes it is begun by a denunciation brought by a bishop who wishes a publication banned within his own diocese, sometimes it is a complaint which

comes directly to the Supreme Sacred Congregation, and sometimes this body, noticing unrest among the faithful, takes the initiative. In any and all events, the congregation charges one of its consultors to read the work attentively and note passages which appear to him to contain error. The book is then sent with observations to the other consultors, who give their views at the weekly meetings held Mondays at the palace of the Holy Office.

The book, censure, and the votes of the consultors are then transmitted to the cardinals, who pronounce sentence at their meetings Wednesdays. (There are from seven to ten cardinals in the congregation; the consultors number about thirty.) Finally, the assessor of the Holy Office submits the dossier to the sovereign pontiff, whose decision terminates the proceedings. There can be one of four verdicts: *damnetur* (condemned), *dimitatur* (dismissed), *donec corrigatur* (prohibited until corrected), or *res dilata* (case postponed). Only Catholic authors are informed before publication of the decree, so that they may recall the books that are out, if they so desire, or make known their submission. The condemned books are announced in the official part of the *Osservatore Romano*, later in the *Acta Apostolicae Sedis*, and generally reprinted by religious organs throughout the world. Sometimes a condemnation is not published at once because it is not opportune. An example of this rare procedure is the case of the *Action Française* which Pius X condemned in 1914, but reserved publication until Pius XI did so in 1927. Likewise in 1928 it was decided inopportune (*non expedire*) to transmit liturgical ceremonies over the radio, but up to the present no official announcement has been published in the *Acta*. The secrets of the Holy Office are rigorously guarded. Cardinals and members of the Supreme Sacred Congregations, and likewise the consultor and inferior employees, must never disclose the history of its meetings.

The formula generally utilized by the popes of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries in their decrees is:

"We condemn this work after mature consideration, on our personal judgment (*motu proprio*) and with assured knowledge

(of its pernicious character), on the apostolic authority (vested in us); and we prohibit to all persons, whatever may be their rank or position, the printing, reading, or possession of the same.

"The penalty for disobedience shall be *excommunicatio latae sententiae*.

"We direct that the existing copies of said work be delivered to the bishop or to the inquisitor of the diocese, by whom such copies shall be promptly burned. . . ."

Although the pope can condemn a book on his own initiative, it is noted that the last action of this kind dates from 1862, when the German professor, Frohschammer, was proscribed. The Leonine Index contains only 144 books against which a papal document has been issued; they can be distinguished by the dagger which precedes them.

The rules, *Sollicita ac provida*, of Benedict XIV which Leo XIII retained, are five in number, the first urging on the cardinals and consultors conscientious study without passion or anxiety, the second advising consultors who feel incompetent to avow this feeling, the third urging them to set aside party spirit, prejudice, and similar emotions. The fourth is: "It must also be borne in mind that it is impossible to judge fairly the meaning of a passage unless the entire book is studied and unless the various statements found in different sections are compared with one another, and the whole purpose of the book steadily kept in view."

Here is a papal dictum which might well be noted by the police magistrates, the Sumners, the Watch and Ward societies of the present day, for they have time after time found a line or two with one of the six prohibited four-letter words in the English language in a page of a masterpiece (or at least an important work) and suppressed the book on that account. In vain, frequently, have the authors pleaded that the whole book be judged, that the tenor and purpose of the book be judged, not a word or a paragraph.

The fifth rule is, "If an author who enjoys the reputation of sound theological learning has used expressions which might be

understood in a wrong as well as in a right meaning, fairness demands that they be, as far as possible, interpreted in his favour."

Authors are not permitted to defend their books, explains Betten, since they cannot accompany each book to the reader and the printed word must stand for what it is. The consultors have been told to be in his favour if there is a doubt, and there is never a condemnation of an author, but only his printed book.

Pius IV declared it mortal sin to read a condemned book. Leo XIII avoided such expression. "According to theologians," says Betten, "the reading of a forbidden book, or part of it, is a mortal sin."

The laws of the Index are binding upon all Catholics, with the sole exception of cardinals, bishops, and other dignitaries holding positions similar to that of bishops. The canon law makes it quite clear to laymen what general classes of books, in addition to those named, must not be touched. The eleven classes (and notes concerning them by Betten) are:

1. All books which propound or defend heresy or schism, or which of set purpose attack religion or morality, or endeavour to destroy the foundations of religion or morality.

2. Books which impugn or ridicule Catholic dogma or Catholic worship, the hierarchy, the clerical or religious state, or which tend to undermine ecclesiastical discipline, or which defend errors rejected by the Apostolic See.

3. Books which declare duelling, suicide, divorce, lawful, or which represent Freemasonry and similar organizations as useful and not dangerous to the Church and to civil society.

4. Books which teach or recommend superstition, fortune-telling, sorcery, spiritism, or other like practices (*e.g.*, Christian Science).

5. Books which professedly treat of, narrate, or teach, lewdness and obscenity.

6. Editions of the liturgical books of the Church which do not agree in all details with the authentic editions.

7. Books and booklets which publish new apparitions, revelations, visions, prophecies, miracles, etc., concerning which the canonical regulations have not been observed. (This practically means that such books and booklets are forbidden if they appear without the bishop's

approbation. . . . Newspapers, weeklies, etc., are not prevented by this rule from relating uncommon happenings. They should, however, be careful not to make such events appear as undoubtedly supernatural, before the Church has taken a stand.)

8. All editions of the Bible or parts of it, as well as all biblical commentaries, in any language, which do not show the approbation of the bishop or some higher ecclesiastical authority.

9. Translations which retain the objectionable character of the forbidden original.

10. Pictures of Our Lord, the Blessed Virgin, the angels and saints and other servants of God, which deviate from the customs and the directions of the church.

11. The term "books" includes also newspapers and periodicals which come under the foregoing classes, not, indeed, if they publish one or the other article contrary to faith and morals, but if their chief tendency and purpose is to impugn Catholic doctrine or defend un-Catholic teachings and practices.

Concerning the term *opera omnia*, found after the names of certain authors, Betten explains, we have the official declaration given in the preface of the Index (page XIII) that only those of the author's books are meant which treat of religion. Works which do not are forbidden only when they are either proscribed by special decrees or fall under the general laws. No such distinction is made regarding the phrase *omnes fabulæ amatoriae*.

The head of the family is chiefly responsible for its readings. Catholics who are librarians may keep and handle prohibited books for their employers. If a forbidden book is bound with others, the whole volume is forbidden. Although church authorities have the power to forbid private writings, handwritten, type-written, or mimeographed, the ecclesiastical book laws do not go that far, but the mere remark, "for private circulation only," etc., does not save a publication; it may be prohibited by the Fifth Commandment. Anthologies containing passages from proscribed books are permitted if the passages are not objectionable. Nor is a sin committed by listening to the reading of proscribed publications or by witnessing a play which is the dramatization of a prohibited novel; such listening or reading is always a fault and

may become a serious violation of the natural law. Bible editions, forbidden, or lacking approbation, are permitted to students. Judges, editors, reviewers, and teachers may obtain permission to use them. In cases of emergency, persons desiring to refute charges, and not having permission for certain reading, may read.

#### ORIGIN OF CENSORSHIP

On many of the early editions of the Index appears this quotation from Acts, xix: 19, as the motto of the work: "Many of them also which used curious arts brought their books together, and burned them before all men." The reference is to St. Paul's converts at Ephesus. In the year 150, according to George Haven Putnam, the synod of bishops prohibited the *Acta Pauli*, a historical romance dealing with St. Paul, and this was the first act of censorship of the Christian era. Both the date and fact are disputed by the Catholic historians of the Index. But beyond dispute is the fact that the Council of Nicæa in 325 proscribed the heresy of Arius and prohibited his book, *Thalia*, which contained the heresy. This is the first legal, general, historical, documented act of church censorship. The Council of Carthage in 400 forbade reading pagan works.

The first list which might be called an Index was that of Pope Gelasius, in 496, which listed the true books of the Bible and a short list of apocryphal and heretical books which were prohibited—that is, which were confiscated and destroyed, inasmuch as there were no halfway measures in those old days, no mere giving of advice or threatening penalties.

Of the origin of the Index as we know it today, Joseph Hilgers, S.J., the great German authority, states: "the making of laws regarding books coincides with the existence and purpose of the Church of Christ. Censorship of books and prohibition of books reach back to the first Christian centuries." Mendham, a Protestant historian and self-acknowledged enemy, declares "the origin of the genuine Roman Indexes is to be assigned to the formidable attack upon the Roman superstition by Martin Luther and others in Germany at the beginning of the sixteenth century."

The first known censure of a printed book occurred in Venice in 1491, when Franco, archbishop of Treviso, as papal legate, re-proved the *Monarchia* of Antonio Roselli and the *Theses* of Pico della Mirandola, under pain of excommunication, to be burned at the principal church. Roselli had maintained the juristical view of papal authority. Pico, charged with heresy, submitted, and in 1493 was absolved.

Gutenberg's invention and the immediate great dissemination of printed books undoubtedly brought about the publication by the Catholic Church in the sixteenth century of its Index, which remained in spirit almost unchanged for about 300 years. Gutenberg finished the Latin Bible no later than 1456. In 1479 Sixtus IV told the dean of the University of Cologne to inflict spiritual penalties upon "printers, purchasers, and readers of heretical books," a fact which proves that within thirty-three years the press was already being used by the critics and the enemies of the Church. An important step in history was that taken by Alexander VI, who in 1501 wrote in his bull *Inter Multiplices*, addressed to the bishops of Cologne, Mainz, Trier, and Magdeburg:

"Just as the art of printing is regarded as most useful to the reader multiplication of worthy and useful books, it may also cause the greatest amount of harm if those who practise it should use the art perversely." A new censorship was thus inaugurated, with punishment provided in fines, burnings, and excommunication. In the year this bull was issued there were in Rome alone 190 printing-plants, the first of which had in seven years produced twenty-eight works in forty-seven editions, giving the world 124,000,000 pages of printed matter for its unaccustomed eyes.

In 1519 Martin Luther published his book of 488 pages dealing with indulgences, the eucharist, and confession. It was censored immediately by the universities of Cologne, Louvain, and the Sorbonne. In the following year Luther, acting the inquisitor, publicly cast into the fire the papal bull, the canon law itself, and the writings of Eck and Emser. The pope replied by burning Luther's works in Belgium, on the banks of the Rhine, in the



Piazza Novona in Rome, where the reformer's effigy also went into the *auto-da-fé*.

A great clamour for an official Roman Index arose at this time but was unheeded. The bishops, the universities, and the provincial councils continued to act. Thus it was a full century between the introduction of printing and the appearance of the Index.

The date of publication was 1559. Seventeen years earlier Cardinal Caraffa, "the fiery and haughty Caraffa," and five more cardinals had been appointed "commissioners and inquisitors of the Faith throughout the whole Christian republic on both sides of the Alps," and in 1555 Caraffa became Paul IV. In 1557 a first edition, so called, was drawn up, found insufficient, and revised. In 1558 Philip II of Spain rushed the work along by publishing a decree of death and confiscation of goods of all who sell, buy, or keep books prohibited by the Sacred Office, and by demanding a catalogue from the inquisitor-general.

It is the 1559 publication which has gone through more than a hundred changing editions and comes down to our day. This first catalogue was entitled *Index Auctorum et Librorum*. It provided as chief penalty *excommunicatio latae sententiae*. Arranged alphabetically, as is the present work, it is, however, divided into three parts. The first category consists of heresiarchs, all of whose books, past, present, and future, are condemned; second, writers tending to heresy or impiety, writers of books on magic, immoral writers; third, writings chiefly anonymous, unwholesome in doctrine.

In the first category are included Luther, Melancthon, Rabelais, and Erasmus and other important persons. The third part bans all publications of the last forty years which have not the names of author, printer, date, and place. Sixty-one printers, most of whom were publishers, are listed as heretical, and seventeen of these names remained down to the year 1900.

In the second category appear Merlin the Englishman's *Book of Obscure Visions*; fables of Olgier the Dane and Arthur of Britain. Strangely enough, the item *Arturus Britannus* (*Legend of*

*King Arthur*) remained until Benedict XIV, revising the Index, changed it to read *Thomas Arturus*.

Anger, amazement, consternation, greeted the first Index. Notable churchmen protested, including the blessed Peter Canisius, one of the first men in history who made a public appeal for the freedom of the press. The Spanish viceroys of Naples and Milan refused to publish the book; the Sorbonne sabotaged it by delay; Venice published it but did not enforce it; while Spain refused it. Basle, Zurich, and Frankfurt asked Como, Duke of Tuscany, to protect their printers, while in Florence the estimated loss of 100,000 ducats, it was said, would ruin publishers and booksellers.

The result was the publication of the Tridentine Index with its ten rules regarding the freedom of the press, which remained in force up to the twentieth century. In 1562 the Council of Trent named a commission whose work may be said to have been the expurgation of the Pauline Index. A decree passed by the Council declared that as the disease of pernicious books had not yielded to the salutary medicine hitherto applied, it was deemed proper that certain fathers should be appointed diligently to examine and state to the synod what was necessary to be done respecting the censure of books. The catalogue printed in 1564 bears the title which has remained to this day—*Index Librorum Prohibitorum*.

The Congregation of the Index was established by Pius V in 1571 and given dictatorial powers by Sixtus V in his bull *Immensa* in 1587. The Tridentine rules cancelled in 1590 were restored by Clement VIII six years later, and remained until the time of Leo XIII.

#### THE LEONINE INDEX

One of the most important changes in the history of the Index occurred on January 25, 1897, when Leo XIII in his bull *Officiorum et munerum* gave the general rules of the Catholic Church regarding books and revoked all previous general prohibitions and regulations. This bull gives the rules of censorship and cancels all others except the *Sollicita ac provida* of Benedict XIV.

The Leonine Index, edition 1900, 450 pages, 7,200 names, ex-

plaining the elimination of the 3,000 titles from previous editions, says in its preface:

The intention of the pope in ordering a thorough revision of the Index was not only to temper the severity of the old rules, but also, on behalf of the maternal kindness of the Church, to accommodate the whole spirit of the Index to the times.

Moreover, certain books, not a few in number, have been dropped from the Index, which, although they labour under certain defects or have some slight taint, yet have such a reputation for learning or such documentary value that their errors or views seem to be compensated by their usefulness.

And the papal brief, signed Cardinal Macchi, concludes as follows:

. . . When the invention in the fifteenth century of the new art of printing caused a great increase in the number of books and also a great spread of the pest of evil heresies, it was everywhere deemed necessary to take severe notice of evil writing, both to forestall danger and to repair evil already done. Therefore, the fathers of the Council of Trent . . . deemed that great contagion of heretical books, or of books suspected of the crime of heresy, or of books hurtful to piety and morals, should be attacked in two ways; first, the scholars and theologians . . . made certain rules so that it might be easier to decide of what books in general the faithful should beware; and secondly, they compiled an accurate and absolute exposition or index of books of improper contents. . . . In the nature of the case this Index required additions as in the course of time new wicked and hurtful books appeared. . . . Conditions seem to call for something more comprehensive and more efficient for the present needs. Rome, Sept. 17, 1900. Alois. Card. Macchi.

Finally must be noted the last step in Index history, the codification of canon law under Pius X and Benedict XV, which lists eleven classes of prohibited books, and which are given elsewhere.

#### THE PRESENT (1930) EDITION

The present Index—*Indice dei Libri Proibiti, Tipografia Poliglotta Vaticana 1930 (Nuova edizione)*—is a neatly printed vol-

ume of 563 pages, with about ten items to the page, making a total of 7,000 or 8,000 books when one estimates at ten each the volumes of authors after whose names appear the words *opera omnes* or *omnes fabulæ amatoriæ*.

The first item is *Abauzit, Firmin. v. Réflexions impartiales sur les évangiles*, and the second, *Abbadie, Jacques. Traité de la vérité de la religion cretienne, Decr. 5 iul. 1695*, and they may serve as a clue to the spirit of the Index. They deal with the Christian religion and are probably written by Catholics in a critical state of mind. Actually the many prohibited books are between 75 and 90 per cent criticisms or discussions of theology, dogma, ritual, or history of the Catholic Church and of little or no interest to laymen, faithful or agnostic.

The French monarchist hyper-Catholic newspaper *L'Action Française* is banned, one of the rare instances in which the periodical press is mentioned, the rules of the censorial body being that daily journals and magazines which are patently anti-Catholic must be left alone, and those which at times, through error, publish malicious or ignorant statements can be overlooked. But the French organ of Léon Daudet and Charles Maurras, which daily and blatantly demands a return of the Orléans dynasty and the overthrow of the Republic, cannot be overlooked by the Vatican when it seeks to establish and maintain friendly relations with France as a Republic.

The name of Lord Acton then appears, followed by his work, *Zur geschichte des vaticanischen Concils*. This German title also illustrates one of the most important points about the Index, one which enemies either overlook or maliciously pervert. For instance, in attacking the Catholic Church many a critic has accused it of banning practically all the great works of enlightenment of ancient and modern times, and generally mentions a list such as Descartes, Spinoza, Malebranche, Taine, Bergson, Bossuet, Lord Acton, Kant, Bacon, Sir Thomas Browne, Locke, Hobbes, Gibbon, John Stuart Mill, Doellinger, Samuel Richardson, Addison, Goldsmith, Heine, Victor Hugo. . . . The fact is that these names do appear. But note that after Lord Acton's name appears his history of the

Vatican Council only, and that in German. In other words, only one work of this writer's is banned, and of that not the original English edition, but the German version.

Similarly, the contention that Thomas à Kempis' *Imitation of Christ* is on the Index is refuted by the work itself, which under the letter T lists *Thomas Kempisius. De Imitando Christo contemnedisque mundi vanitatibus interprete Sebastiano Castellione. Decr. 1793*. This means that the Castellione interpretation is prohibited, and only that edition. Enemies of the Index have even been as ignorant or wilfully untruthful as to announce that Charles Darwin is banned, whereas the Catholic Church never has prohibited the reading of the works which so upset Mr. Bryan and Dayton, Tennessee, and a large part of the population of the United States. The Index lists *Darwin, Erasmus. Zoönomia or the laws of organic life. Decr. 1817*, and leaves Charles free to its priests and its laymen.

Balzac, however, appears with *Omnes fabulæ amatoriæ* after his name, instead of *Opera omnes*, in editions previous to Leo's, but it pretty well disposes of him as outside of "all love stories" one will not find many books by this author.

Stricken from this newest edition is the name of Monsignor Pierre Batiffol, canon of Notre Dame in Paris, who in 1911 had his work, *L'Eucharistie, la présence réelle et la transsubstantiation*, indexed despite the fact it appeared with the imprimatur of the Archbishop of Toulouse. Here is a work on a subject which has agitated Catholic critics from mediæval times and caused endless controversy. It appeared in 1905, was reprinted, and a third time in 1906, and when exhausted in 1907 the canon of Notre Dame suddenly found he could not print a fourth edition. "I could not obtain permission from Rome," he wrote. From 1911 to 1913, it may therefore be said, the book was in purgatory, but it emerged in the latter year with an intriguing author's foreword: "How permission was granted me by competent authority . . . the reader will forgive me if I do not here relate, as I consider that it would be premature to explain what spontaneous interventions, as effective as distinguished, secured the favourable consideration of Pope

Pius X in person, and led to the book being reissued in Rome itself."

Why Bergson, the great French philosopher, remains on the Index with his three most important works, *Creative Evolution*, *Matter and Memory* and *An Essay on the Immediate Data of Conscience* can be explained by the fact that in 1914 hosts of young Catholics seized upon creative evolution as reconciling loyalty to the Church with the acceptance of modern science. The chief disciple of the philosopher at the time, Edouard Le Roy, ardent Catholic, devoted his writings to the ethical importance of Bergsonism, and shortly afterwards the movement was halted by the Church.

Most notable, from a layman's point of view, by its absence from the Index, is the name of Boccaccio, whose *Decameron* in the English language, still unlisted in the New York Public Library, has caused great cerebral manifestations on the part of New York Customs House men, the moral Mr. John S. Sumner and the saintly anonymous gentlemen of the United States Post Office. True enough, Boccaccio for a long time was on the Index. But, says J. A. Symonds, "sin was secularized," all the priests and nuns who appear in a bad light were changed to nobles and ladies, and in that altered form given back to the lay world. Likewise Rabelais, who was proscribed in 1559, was let out of purgatory by the famous Index of Leo XIII, which also freed Dante's *De Monarchia* and works of Leibnitz and Grotius' *De Jure Belli ac Pacis*. The Congregation of the Index, it will be remembered, never claimed infallibility, and the Leonine and the new edition are the best proof of this fact.

The Book of Common Prayer was prohibited for Catholics in 1714, and remains so today. *Religio Medici*, by Thomas Browne, must not be read. There follow three pages of catechisms. Then, in agreement with the New York Library and with all the censors of America—*Casanova de Seingalt*, *Jacques. Mémoires écrits par lui-même. Decr. 1834*. But note that while a great many public libraries—especially those in the United States—do not have *Ulysses*, *Lady Chatterley's Lover*, and in some cases not even *An*

*American Tragedy*, *Jurgen*, or *Mlle. de Maupin* of Gautier, not one of these books, except Casanova's, appears on the Catholic Index. This, of course, does not mean that Catholics may rush out and buy all these generally banned books; some books are prohibited by their very nature, and some the Church leaves to time and tide, but it does mean that while censors of other churches and moral organizations keep up to the minute, the cardinals in Rome let the living present take care of itself pretty well while they devote themselves to studying works of more or less immortality.

Nearer Rome, however, there is more temporal alertness. Thus the spiritual but immoral father of Fascism, Gabriele d'Annunzio, receives considerable mention:

	D'Annunzio, Gabriele. <i>Omnes fabulæ amatoriae</i> . Decr. 8 maii 1911
———	<i>Omnia opera dramatica</i> . Decr. 8 maii 1911
———	<i>Prose scelte</i> . Decr. 8 maii 1911
———	<i>Reliqua opera</i> . Decr. S. Off. 27 iun 1928

which would not leave much of the noted poet, captor of Fiume, prince of Montenevose and cousin, by decoration, of the king of Italy, for the delectation of Italian readers, were it not for the fact that Mussolini, in consideration for favours received, ordered the Fascist state to print a special collected edition of all amatory fables, the dramas, the prose, and the rest, for widest distribution. That, of course, was ordered before the Duce made peace with the pope and was incidentally one of the numerous pin-pricks to help along the treaty.

Defoe, also, has had an interesting experience with the Index. The Spanish Inquisition was quick to see the danger in *Robinson Crusoe* and condemned it, but in Rome the author escaped notice until a French translation appeared of his *History of the Devil*, which soon enough was indexed in that language and so appears in the Leonine work. But in the present edition *History (Politi-*

cal) of the Devil is listed in English. Similarly the Leonine Index has, after Sterne's *Sentimental Journey*, the note *Opus Anglice Editum, sed tantum in italica versione ad S. Congr. relatum* (An English work, but only the Italian version has been referred to the Congregation). Since then the original has come to judgment, and the result in the present volume is (*Sterne, Laurence*). v. *Yorick. A Sentimental Journey*.

Milton's *Paradise Lost* is another item which has brought opprobrium upon the Congregation from Protestants, but it was always listed as in the Paolo Rolli translation in Italian, and this was done because it contained an essay discussing Voltaire, the *bête noire* of the makers of the Index. Today there is no mention of *Paradise Lost* in English or translation, with or without essays or comments, but strangely enough the opponents can still shout that Milton is on the Index, for he does appear, but in this fashion: *Miltonus, Ioannes. Literæ pseudo-senatus anglicani, Cromwellii reliquorumque perduellium nomine ad iussu conscriptæ. Decr. 1694.*

A curious modern little item forbidden to Catholics is *Dimnet, Ernest. La Pensée catholique dans l'Angleterre contemporaine*, and dates from 1907. Descartes' name is followed by a long list, and Auguste Comte has but one item, but it is important enough, his *Cours de philosophie positive*. Both MM. Dumas, pater and filius, appear with *Omnes fabulæ amatoriæ*, although Betten explains that this does not include *The Count of Monte Cristo*.

The novel of novelists is mentioned by name: *Madame Bovary* and *Salammbo* of Gustave Flaubert are banned, but no other works, while the most noted case of our times, Anatole France, remains *Opera omnia*, with the date 1922. Naturally enough, *The History of the Decline and Fall of the Roman Empire* remains unchanged on the list since 1783. Heine is listed in two languages, *De l'Allemagne* and *De la France, Reisebilder* and *Neue Gedichte*.

The name of Albert Houtin is followed by a long list of theological works, one of which is entitled *Americanism* and serves to recall the criticism of American trends in the Catholic Church, which at the time of Cardinal Gibbons caused so much



agitation in the United States, in France, and finally in Rome. A more important Church controversy comes under the letters I and J, which are indiscriminately mixed. These are:

*Iansenii*

*Iansenismus* (three Latin titles)

*Ianseniste*

*Iansenius, Cornelius* (two titles)

*Iansenius, Jean*

*Iansenius, Philippus*

Then appears the name of one of the Titans, *Kant, Immanuel, Kritik der reinen Vernunft. Decr. 1827*, followed by *La Fontaine, Contes et nouvelles en vers*, and three items of *Lamartine: Jocelyn, Souvenirs*, and *La chute d'un ange*, and after that a curious English item, *Lang, Andrew. Myth, ritual and religion. Decr. 1896*. Andrew Lang himself was curious about the selection of this book from among his works, and in 1905 wrote the *Athenæum*, saying the book deals with savage and classical belief, has nothing to do with the Christian religion, and concludes that it has been impossible to obtain any written or oral reply from the Vatican, let alone an explanation. The Congregation, as has been noted, gives no hearings to any authors, nor does it explain its decisions.

Important works by English authors which follow are John Locke's *An Essay Concerning Human Understanding. Decr. 1794*, and *The Reasonableness of Christianity as Delivered in the Scriptures. Decr. 1737*, and John Stuart Mill, *Principles of Political Economy. Decr. 1856*. His *Treatise on Liberty*, banned in 1851, no longer appears. In between may be found all the works of Maurice Maeterlinck, decree dated 1914, and the one reference to Luther, *Michelet, Jules. Mémoires de Luther écrits par lui-même, traduit et mis en ordre. 1840*. And other works of Michelet. But it must be noted there is no other mention of Luther. Nor, for that matter, of Melancthon, Huss, and a score of other heresiarchs and heretics who in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries occupied

the most important section, if not the bulk, of the list of prohibited works.

The essays of Michel de Montaigne are included, and under M there is Henry Murger, *omnes fabulæ amatoriæ*, then nothing of importance for us until *Pamela, or Virtue Rewarded; in a series of familiar letters from a beautiful damsel to her parents. Decr. 1744, v. Richardson, Samuel*. No mention of Mussolini! Nor, for that matter, in the Indexes previous to the Vatican treaty, and yet this gentleman is the author of a booklet entitled *God Does Not Exist* and of a novel, *The Cardinal's Mistress*, the very title of which is offensive to the Church. This novel, in fact, the Duce himself has so well suppressed that when Hiram Motherwell tried to obtain it for publication by the Brothers Boni in America he was forced to copy it out chapter by chapter from the original newspapers he found in Rome and other cities. In several instances the librarians, seeing him copying the Duce's great work, became frightened and warned him away, making necessary a trip to almost as many cities as there are chapters. This novel is as vulgar as it is vicious in its references to priests and Catholicism, but it has never been indexed.

On the other hand, an American named William L. Sullivan, who wrote a novel called *The Priest; a Tale of Modernism in New England*, published in Boston in 1911, was noticed by the Church and remains on the Index, the reason obviously being its discussion of "modernism." Just before *The Priest* comes Blaise Pascal, another churchman whom critics of the Index make a fuss about, but the book plainly states *Pensées, avec les notes de M. Voltaire. Decr. 1789*. Voltaire, like a ghost seen from cellar to attic of a house, haunts many a page of the Catholic Index. In fact he later appears with two pages of thirty-eight works—which, however, give the reader an opportunity to seek other items not listed. *The Rights of Man*, of course, is prohibited, and Rousseau's *Social Contract* is also on the list, as well as three other works, *Lettres écrites de la montagne*, *Julie ou la nouvelle Héloïse* and *Lettre à Christophe de Beaumont*, while Renan appears with nineteen

listed items, one of the longest in the Index, including the *Vie de Jésus*.

George Sand's full name, Amantine Lucile Aurore Dudevant, is disclosed before the warning *omnia fabulæ amatoria*, whereas the author of *The Red and the Black* is listed as *Stendhal, Henri Beyle de*, with the same injunction, and a similar one settles Eugène Sue. *Opera omnia* is applied to several more or less well-known writers, Thomas White, Émile Zola (although Betten makes an exception of *The Dream*), and Guido da Verona. Decr. 1920. Zola had been let alone until 1894, when he wrote *Lourdes*, attacking the miracles at the shrine, and decrees were issued against him that year, the two following, and finally one in 1898. Da Verona's novels, with one or two exceptions, are unknown outside of Italy, and they frequently treat of perversion.

The philosophers of the last pages of the Index are Spinoza, who appears listed twice, once *Opera posthuma* and again, in parenthesis, (*Spinoza, Benedictus de*) v. *Tractatus theologico-politicus*. Swedenborg's *Principia rerum naturalium*, and Bernard de Mende's *Thoughts (Free) on Religion, the Church and National Happiness* and Voltaire about complete the book. The first King Victor receives this mention: *Vittorio Emanuele (A) re d'Italia (excerptum ex opusculo: Alleanza monoteistica)*. Decr. 6 sept. 1870. A notable date.

In point of time the last item is Missiroli, Mario. *Due à Cesare. La politica religiosa di Mussolini con documenti inediti*. Decr. 23 ian 1930, the title being self-explanatory.

Alphabetically, the last place has, since 1898, been reserved for an American whose name is Zurcher. The Index carries him *Zurcher, Georges. Monks and their Decline*, breaking its own rule, perhaps only by a typographical error, that authors and books are listed in the original spelling. On the other hand, no other works of this author are listed, although he repeatedly criticizes the Catholic Church. *Monks and their Decline* appears in two editions, one published by Elbert Hubbard in East Aurora, New York, as a number of the *Roycroft Quarterly*, the other published presumably by the author in Buffalo, New York, where the Rev.

George Zurcher was pastor of St. Joseph's Church. Rev. Zurcher's unindexed book is called *The Apple of Discord*, which is devoted to Father Hecker and the so-called "Yankee Catholic Church." In both works the author states his belief that political union of church and state is the worst misfortune of the Catholic Church, and he shows himself a partisan of any movement of "liberalization" or "Americanization." It will be noted that two Americans whose names are most likely for the Index, are missing—Thomas Paine and Robert G. Ingersoll.

A movement to place the Encyclopædia Britannica on the Index was begun in many countries on the appearance of the 1911 edition, Jesuit leaders and the Catholic press in general accusing that work of being openly and unfairly anti-Catholic. Exception was taken to almost all articles dealing with the Faith, but especially to the item entitled "Mary, the Mother of Jesus." The passages which offended most were: "Of her parentage nothing is recorded in any extant document of the first century." "She became the mother of Jesus Christ and afterwards had other children." "Her perpetual virginity was of no importance in the eyes of the evangelists." "Many passages could be cited from the Fathers of the Church to show that her absolute sinlessness was originally quite unknown to Catholicism." Finally, the Encyclopædia writer gives a Frazerian-Golden-Bough interpretation of the title "Mother of God," saying in conclusion that "the religious instincts of mankind are very ready to pay worship in grosser or more refined forms to the idea of womanhood. At all events, many pagans entered the Church with such instincts derived from the nature worship in which they had been brought up, and the comparative colourlessness of the character of Mary left great scope to the untrammelled exercise of devout imagination." It may be remembered that there was also an uproar over the presentation of America and Americans in this and other editions of the Britannica, and eventually great parts of the encyclopædia were rewritten—but the work was not placed on the Index, although it offended Catholics throughout the world.

The present Index makes no mention of several American items which once caused a controversy. Once upon a time, or in 1819, to be more exact, a Father W. Hogan wanted to retain his pastorate of the Church of St. Mary in Philadelphia, but Bishop Henry Conwell wanted to consecrate it as a cathedral, and Father Hogan took to pamphleteering. The result can be seen in old Indexes:

*An address to the Congregation of St. Mary's Church, Philadelphia*

*Continuation of an Address, &c.*

*Address of the Committee, &c.*

*The Opinion of the Rt. Rev. John Rico on the Difference &c.*

*Address of the Rt. Rev. Bishop of Pennsylvania.*

Curiously enough Mrs. Stowe's *Uncle Tom's Cabin* was prohibited by special instruction from sale in the Papal States but never indexed, while only the Spanish version of the Index of 1876 contained mention of another American: *Draper, J. W. History of the Conflict between Religion and Science, New York, 1874.*

#### DEFENCE OF THE INDEX

In almost all countries having large Catholic populations there is today a church dignitary, usually a Jesuit father, who directs the faithful in their reading. His function is twofold: to explain the Index and to recommend good books. The second is rather a modern development. In the four centuries of censorship there have appeared only some four lists of recommendations, none from Rome itself. The Louvain Index of 1546 gave a short list of good books. Between 1616 and 1619 Peter Canisius, head of the Jesuits in Germany, a noble figure in church history, had published in Mainz an annual catalogue of recommendations used chiefly by the booksellers.

Today there are church lists, lists issued by various Catholic societies, by cardinals' committees, and an "official" publication which has the imprimatur of a cardinal or the sanction of a pope, which settles the book question. Catholics in the United States can

refer to *The Roman Index of Forbidden Books Briefly Explained*, by Francis S. Betten, S.J., of John Carroll University, published by Loyola University; Canadians to *L'Index* of L'Abbé J. E. Laberge of Quebec; Frenchmen to *Romans à lire et roman à proscrire* of L'Abbé Bethlehem.

The Abbé Bethlehem, the French executive of the Index, has tremendous power. He can prevent the publication of books, he has tried to suppress books, and he has organized Catholics to boycott books and ruin their sales. He works with Catholic leagues and posts a review of books monthly. His critique of the Index is considered authoritative. Its preface contains this authorization of the pope addressed to the author, March 7, 1919:

It is a work which is useful and necessary; that is why His Holiness expressed to you his deepest praise for your initiative, which is so timely, and his satisfaction, no less felt, in the success which has crowned it up to now. . . .

The Church, the Abbé Bethlehem declares, in virtue of the powers which it has from its divine founder, has the right and the duty to condemn error and wickedness wherever it finds it; it has also, by natural consequence, the right to condemn books opposed to the Faith or to Christian morals, or which, without being wicked, are dangerous from this double point of view. There are first of all those books prohibited under penalty of excommunication reserved to the pope (*Bulle Apostolicae Sedis*). . . . There are also books written by heretics or by apostates, and which sustain heresy. . . . There are no novelists who have been declared heretics and apostates by the Church, but many among them, for example, Renan on one side, Zola on the other, should they not rightly be considered among them, since they have defended the doctrines of heresy or have voluntarily withdrawn from the true Faith? . . . The Congregation of the Index can only condemn a nominal number of condemnable books; for the others it condemns them by virtue of a general law, (1) works of heresy, schism, doctrines incompatible with the true Faith; (2) impious works which attack God, the Holy Virgin, the saints . . .

which represent Freemasonry as necessary and inoffensive . . .  
(3) finally, those works which are obscene.

The Abbé Bethleem then proceeds to give not only moral judgment, but literary criticism of numerous novels which appear in the Index. Those referring to the books best known follow:

Gabriele d'Annunzio, his loose living, his scandalous adventures, and particularly his behaviour with la Duse, made of this young debauchée one of the most repugnant personages who has entered into literary history. . . . He is, according to critics, a brutal and lewd realist, a passionate psychologist who analyses the bases of sensations, a Baudelairean who mingles Catholicism with voluptuousness, a disciple of Tolstoi and Nietzsche, a naturalist who represents love as physical transport, and brings shameless Don Juans on the scene with marked complaisance.

Honoré de Balzac. He wanted to write the manners of his country as Walter Scott did. . . . In 1843 the journal *La Sylphide* represented the author in a caricature distinguished as a snake tempting women. . . .

Jules Bois. *Satanism and Magic; Decree 21 Aug. 1896*. He is known as the most notable representative, if not the creator, of an occultist psychology. . . . In *Le Miracle moderne* he pretends to show that there are miracles in us. . . .

Jean Jacques de Casanova de Seingalt, celebrated adventurer, recounts in his repugnant *Mémoires* the scandals and the intrigues of his errant and licentious life.

Alexander Dumas *père*. All those books, especially noted by the former Index on account of their Protestant tendencies, do not appear to fall today under the censorship of the church, only the *fabulæ amatoriæ*.

Gustave Flaubert, father and king of modern novels, on account of the purity of his style and the documentary exactitude of his observations. *Madame Bovary* is his *chef-d'œuvre* . . . a unique book, but it is gravely dangerous. Beautiful extracts can be found in *Pages choisies*.

Victor Hugo. We do not judge him from the point of view of literature; we envisage the religious and moral side. He has celebrated religion in magnificent terms, but opposite such splendours, what lying assertions, what blasphemy, what calumnies against the Church,

the pope, the bishops, the priests! What immorality! Therefore the reading of his complete works is dangerous; it can be conceded only to persons of ripe age and for serious reasons. For the love of antithesis and for motives less worthy, the author is pleased to give the premier rôle and to place the nicest sentiments in beings he takes from the lowest depths of vicious society. Such, for example, as Jean Valjean in *Les Misérables*, a veritable epic poem, a true socialist epic, the rehabilitation of the convict, of the daughter-mother of the Revolution.

Alphonse de Lamartine *La Chute d'un ange. Jocelyn*, a poem placed by Brunetière at the summit of our literature . . . but it breathes sensuality and denatures the sacerdotal character.

Maurice Maeterlinck, *omnia opera*. He distills in his pages, obscure and falsely mystic, the system of fatalism. . . . His works are filled with sophisms and grave errors and their spirit is clearly anti-Catholic.

Adam Mickiewicz, the noted Polish patriot and poet, has two poems on the Index, no more; these two were written in a moment of exaltation occasioned by the death of his wife and other dolorous happenings.

George Sand, princess of the sentimental and passionate novel. She sang of the absolute sovereignty of love, that is to say, of the right of the individual to oppose, in the name of his passion, all conventions, bourgeois marriage, society, the family, God, everything . . . demagogue and communist.

Stendhal launched his novels, irreligious and impure. . . . This vicious man, this arid writer, who appears to note only ideas, this profound psychologist, exercised a great influence on contemporary thought.

Laurence Sterne, *The Sentimental Journey* (Decret 6 Sept. 1819). We cite it here because of the date of the condemnation. *The Sentimental Journey* is an agreeable badinage, but from the moral point of view it is no more recommendable than *Tristram Shandy*. As for the author, Taine has painted him in three words: Rude, subtle, and unhealthy.

Émile Zola. His works are so ignoble that his own friends ended by becoming nauseated. One finds skilful workmanship, but always immoral and false, frequently with repugnant obscenity and crudity. . . . All his heroes are monsters. . . . Towards the end of his life he wrote an anti-Catholic trilogy. . . . After having taken a considerable part



in the Dreyfus affair, he died miserably on the 28th of September 1902.

At this point the abbé finishes with the items noted in the Index and continues to condemn books containing "wickedness and error, works which distill doubt, impiety, or libertinage, accordingly condemned by the general law of the Index and at least prohibited to the majority of readers by the laws of nature and of Christian morals. . . . All these writers seek the same purpose and give their books the same character, *corrumpi et corrumpere* of Tacitus; they corrupt the spirit, the morals or the Faith.

Some of them parade vice in all its brutality. . . . Others tend to corrupt morals by the magic of style, by the extreme art with which they know how to present their tableaux and their themes. . . . These writers are not content to paint sin in the most hideous or the most attractive colours; they attempt to justify it, and this is what gives fulfilment to the scandal. Not only do they fascinate the senses and despoil the heart, but they pervert ideas also.

To guarantee their readers against intimate remorse and their works against public disapproval, they preach, inspiring themselves with Rousseau, Kant, and Goethe, the right of man and of woman to happiness; they proclaim with Voltaire that

*Le plaisir est l'objet, le devoir et le but  
De tous les êtres raisonnables.*

They justify the lusts of nature, they insinuate openly that marriage is a misfortune, that divorce is a right, that adultery is a necessity; they proclaim that voluptuous love is a chaste ardour, its manifestations a pardonable temptation, a small sin or a pathological case; they preach that the laws of chastity are no more obligatory than those of marriage, and that conjugal fidelity is an absurdity and an impossibility. They turn the honest woman to ridicule and rehabilitate the courtesan; they place in the same line legitimate children and the children of debauchery. In a word, they call good that which is evil and evil that which is good, they exalt vice and dishonour duty, they reverse the most elementary notions of evangelic morals and natural right, they corrupt morals and falsify ideas. . . .

They do more. Putting into practice the advice of Voltaire, they lie. They falsify the fundamental truth of philosophy, of history, and of religion. . . .

Among the notable names in the abbé's list are:

Henri Barbusse, unknown before the war but for one abominable and infernal book. *Under Fire* made him celebrated. . . . He is one of the leaders of Bolshevism in France. *Under Fire* is a bad book and a bad action; it has obtained a scandalous success among the naïve and the anti-French horde of our country. It has made the Germans rejoice. It was praised by the *Frankfurter Zeitung*. . . . Placed on sale in Germany and in the invaded regions with the authorization of the enemy and published in the *Vorwaerts*. . . . M. Barbusse has published *Clarté*, a Bolshevik manifesto, even more brutal and odious.

Anatole France . . . probably the worst writer of today. In no other is there such complete impiety, such animal immorality. . . . In Stockholm, where he went in December, 1921, to receive the Nobel Prize, he made a speech which should have made the Germans rejoice. Questioned by a journalist, he replied that he adored Lenin, who was working for the progress of humanity.

V. Blasco Ibañez. . . . Many of his works are odious pamphlets against the Catholic religion. His *Four Horsemen of the Apocalypse* is a beautiful romance of war, almost irreproachable.

Pierre Louys, in religion a Protestant, in literature an impeccable stylist, in morals an ardent pleader for all licence.

Guy de Maupassant occupied himself with spiritualism and died insane July 6, 1893. . . . The last works of de Maupassant are, from the moral point of view, much less reprehensible.

Ouida (Mlle Louise Laramée). Why was it that her pen was placed at the service of unhealthy, rationalist, and anti-Catholic ideas?

Pushkin, disciple of Byron, whose revolutionary and licentious morals had, at their time, a considerable success among the Russians. Everyone may read, it is said, *The Daughter of the Captain*.

Maurice Rostand has buried his golden and dissipated youth in *Le Cercueil de cristal*. . . . M. Rostand is a bad thinker.

Leo Tolstoi. He has undertaken to instruct the world in a new doctrine a mixture of mysticism, socialism, rationalism, and nihilism. . . . He does not believe in a future life, he does not respect religion . . .

he has created an impersonal and abstract system of religion in which Christ is absent. . . . His subversive doctrines and other immoralities should not keep one from reading *War and Peace*, *Anna Karenina*, and *Resurrection*.

Willy (Henri Gauthier-Villars) and wife, Mme Collette. The Claudine books are evidently unhealthy, perverse, scabrous, scandalous.

Under the heading "*Romans mondains*, or novelists of whom certain works may figure in the libraries of men of the world and may be read by persons of an age and of ripened judgment," the abbé includes:

Rhoda Broughton; Alphonse Daudet; Léon Daudet; Dostoyevsky; Gorky; Joris Karl Huysmans; Rudyard Kipling . . . "he celebrates the brutality of British imperialism"; Marcel Proust . . . "His work is a minute character analysis, the work of a histologist, a human botanist, where lubricity is revealed on more than one page"; Romain Rolland . . . "Jean Christophe has scabrous passages and noble pages. . . . Rolland has become a humanitarian pacifist, suspected by good Frenchmen"; Mark Twain.

Finally appears the section, *Romans Honnêtes*, or good novels, including

René Bazin, Charlotte Brontë, R. H. Benson, Henry Bordeaux, Wilkie Collins, Dickens, Disraeli, Conan Doyle, George Eliot, Rider Haggard, Thackeray, Trollope, H. G. Wells (earlier works). Of the later, the abbé lists *Mr. Polly*, banal, untrue; *War and the Future*, false note against the pope; *Mr. Britling*, false views against religion; *God the Invisible King*, borders on atheism, an evil-doing book.

The American authority, Betten, holds that the purpose of the Index is to clear up questions when doubt arises because the majority of books are prohibited in the general laws, not in individual listing. "A book," he continues, "may sometimes be dropped from the Index. This is done when a book has long ceased to be dangerous, or a cause of dissension, or if it has fallen into oblivion. It does not mean a reproach for the authorities of former centuries, much less the giving up of an iota of the old principles."

Regarding permission to read banned books, he says: "St. Francis of Sales, the great and learned bishop of Geneva, had obtained permission to read the books of heretics in order to refute them. But when his work was done he thanked God in pathetic words that his soul had suffered no harm in so great a danger. I know a priest who . . . suddenly fell away from the Church, married, and died as a foremost champion in the ranks of the enemy. His apostasy is, not without reason, attributed to the reading of infidel books, though no doubt he had the necessary dispensation. There was another priest who had meanwhile died the death of the just, a celebrated author and art critic. In writing a work on Voltaire he had to study the books of this arch-agnostic. He obtained the requisite permission, but, while perusing Voltaire's writings, he was on his knees to implore, as it were, by his humble posture, the protection of God against the wicked influence to which he was exposed."

The German Index authority, Hilgers, defends the work in these words: "With the misuse of the printing press for the distribution of pernicious writings, the regulations of the Church for the protection of the faithful enter of necessity upon a new period. It is certainly the case that the evil influence of a badly conducted printing-press constitutes today the greatest danger to society. The new flood is drawn from three chief sources. Theism and unbelief arise from the regions of natural science, of philosophy, and of Protestant theology. Theism is the assured result of what is called 'scientific liberty.' Anarchism and nihilism, religious as well as political, may be described as the second source, from which pours out a countless stream of socialistic writings. In substance this is nothing other than a popularized philosophy of liberalism. The third source, the foulest and most pernicious of all, streams forth from the unwholesome romances of the day, romances whose creations rest on the foundations of pornography. If the community is to be protected from demoralization, the political authorities must unite with the ecclesiastical in securing for such utterances some wise and safe control."

## ENEMIES OF THE INDEX

The enemies of the Index never tire of using the Galileo case. In the year 1633 the condemnation (which was recalled and paralleled with the indictment of Scopes in the Dayton monkey trial in 1925) read in part as follows:

Whereas, you, Galileo, son of the late Vincenzo Galileo of Florence, aged seventy years, were denounced in 1615 to this Holy Office for holding as true the false doctrine taught by many—namely, that the sun is immovable in the centre of the world and that the earth moves and also with a diurnal motion; also for having pupils whom you instructed in the same opinions; also for answering the objections which were continually produced from the Holy Scriptures by glozing the said Scriptures according to your own meaning;

Therefore, this holy tribunal, being desirous of providing against the disorder and mischief thence proceeding and increasing to the detriment of the holy faith, etc., etc.;

The proposition that the sun is the centre of the world and immovable from its place is absurd philosophically, false and formally heretical because it is expressly contrary to the Holy Scripture.

The proposition that the earth is not the centre of the world nor immovable, but that it moves also with a diurnal motion, is also absurd philosophically, false and, theologically considered at least, erroneous in faith.

Galileo on his knees recanted the doctrine of the earth's motion, confessed it heretical. In March, 1616, the Congregation of the Index under instructions of the pope decreed the doctrine of double motion of the earth about its axis and about the sun, false and contrary to Holy Scripture. The chief offender was admonished by Cardinal Bellarmine, but nevertheless Galileo published his *Dialogo* in 1632. It was indexed the next year, and the general condemnation, *libri omnes docentes mobilitatem Terræ et immobilitatem solis*, "All books forbidden which maintain that the earth moves and the sun does not," appeared until the year 1757. In 1822 the Inquisition permitted books of modern astron-

omy, and in 1835 Copernicus, Kepler, and Galileo disappeared from the Indexes.

Friends of the Index maintain that Protestants, Lutherans, Calvinists and Anglicans are on record as opposed to Copernicus and Galileo; the University of Cambridge in 1724 condemned the Copernican and Newtonian theories as atheistic, and, strange to relate, a Lutheran publishing-house in St. Louis, Mo., brought out a work entitled *Astronomische Unterredung*, which maintained in 1873 the theory that the earth was a fixed body and the centre of the universe.

Frankly enough Betten says, "There is only one case in more than three centuries in which they [the Congregation] are accused of having made a mistake. It is the *condemnatio*, by both the Holy Office and the Index, of Galileo Galilei."

Whether the publication of the Index has helped or retarded civilization, whether it has ever succeeded in its object, whether it has saved the Catholic faith, are matters of too much controversy. One curious fact, however, must be recorded, the publication of an index against the Index, and what use of it was made by the Bodleian Library at Oxford.

The Earl of Essex in the expedition against Cadiz looted the library of Jerome Osorius, bishop of Algarva, and took numerous copies of the Index, Spanish and Roman, all of which he presented to Sir Thomas Bodley. In 1627 Thomas James, librarian of the Bodleian, issued his *Index Generalis*, a summary catalogue from all known church indexes, as a guidebook of literature banned by the Catholic Church which he recommended for reading by Englishmen. It listed all the items of the Roman Index and claimed its purpose was to call attention to prohibited books and their original editions so that Oxford and other seats of learning might be informed what books to look for and preserve. Many universities did so.

That the Index saved the Italian Peninsula from the spread of the Lutheran movement is the opinion of an anonymous critic who writes in the *Quarterly Review* that:

Literary intercourse between the great German centres and Venice which was their nearest neighbour, came almost to an end during the next few years. The Italian book market was cut off from the north and isolated, if not ruined. There was no longer any likelihood of a religious revolution in the Peninsula; but that division of Christendom which dogmatic controversy had begun turned out to be a breaking up of the intellectual society and general movement of letters, dating from a hundred and thirty years before, which is known to us as the Renaissance. It ends with the Council of Trent; its epitaph is written in the Index of Pius IV.

Of the many thousands of volumes forbidden under penalties between 1559 and 1900 probably not a single one which later times would value has perished.

Satire pretends that all the best books may be found by consulting the Roman Index. That is a witty exaggeration. It has preserved worthless authors from oblivion and advertised ephemeral pamphlets of no account. But if every great name which it contains, from Machiavelli to Renan, were blotted out, modern literature would not only be impoverished, it would become unintelligible. . . . Erasmus, Montaigne, Bacon, Descartes, Spinoza, Berkeley, Hume, Kant, Voltaire, Rousseau, have all laid themselves open to criticism. Yet the world in which we live is largely of their creation; and to know ourselves we must know them.

George Haven Putnam, who has made a two-volume study of the Index, a work which Catholic critics have attacked as full of errors, but which was prefaced by letters of recommendation by several bishops, concludes his history with this, his critical opinion:

The result of the censorship system can of course also not be measured by what may be termed the direct action, the value of the scholarly books destroyed, the interference with the work of scholarly readers, the property losses caused to the printers, publishers, and the booksellers, and, through them, to the community. We must bear in mind also the restrictive influence on literary production and on intellectual development. Many works that might have stimulated and enlightened the world were undoubtedly, after some sharp activities of the censors, destroyed in manuscript rather than, in being brought into print, to bring risk to their authors or loss of position, of banishment, or of excommunication. . . . In the states that accepted the au-

thority of the Index, and particularly in the territories in which this authority was exercised by the Inquisition, the existence of the Index and the machinery of the censorship acted as a blight on literary production and distribution and constituted a serious bar to the interests of higher education and to intellectual development. Such a restriction on the natural operations of the mind, enforced through a long series of years, must have had a repressing effect also on character and individuality, besides tending to the development of deceit and the impairment of manliness.

But the view of the Catholic Church, written by Cardinal Merry del Val in 1929 in his preface to the present edition of the Index, restates its historical purpose.

Hell [writes the cardinal secretary] is now stirring against the Church a more terrible battle than those of earlier centuries. . . . For the evil press [*la stampa cattiva*] is a more perilous weapon than the sword. St. Paul, as we know, set the example for censorship; he caused evil books to be burned (Acts xix:19). St. Peter's successors have always followed the example; nor could they have done otherwise, for their Church, infallible mistress and sure guide of the faithful, is bound in conscience to keep the press pure. . . .

Those who wish to feed the Holy Scriptures to people without any safeguards are also upholders of free thinking, than which there is nothing more absurd or harmful. . . . Only those infected by that moral pestilence known as liberalism can see in a check placed on unlawful power and profligacy a wound inflicted on freedom.



## CHAPTER XII

### *The Dissolution of Marriages*

NO INSTITUTION OF THE CATHOLIC CHURCH IN MODERN TIMES HAS been so violently criticized (by Protestants) or so passionately defended (by Catholics) as the Sacred Roman Rota. For the hierarchy and for a small minority of living men the Rota is known as the tribunal where all cases requiring judicial procedure with trial proofs, civil as well as criminal, are treated in the Roman Curia. But to millions of laymen—many Catholics among them—the Rota is known chiefly as the court where marriages may sometimes be annulled.

When, therefore, a few years ago, one after another, the Marconi-O'Brien case, the Marlborough-Vanderbilt case, and the Boni de Castellane-Anna Gould case were tried before the Rota, bringing the glamour of titles, noble blood, wealth, fame, romance, more than a breath of scandal, into the otherwise obscure proceedings, an ancient function of the Catholic Church became the most modern subject for question.

In one respect these three cases are extremely interesting and valuable in explaining the functions of the Rota, whose history has already included such names as Napoleon and Henry VIII, the Borgias and the bought Chinese bride of Tsi Tcheng-Lin. Each age questions, and each age receives, new evidences by which it can appraise the judgments of the ancient tribunal. Briefly and impartially, the facts in these cases will follow.

Guglielmo Marconi, a young, brilliant engineer who gave to the world the modern radio, while holiday making on the island of Brownsea in 1903, met the young and charming Lady Beatrice O'Brien. They met, they loved. But there was one obstacle in the way of marriage, or rather a difficulty, and that was the objection

of Lady Beatrice's mother to having an Italian Catholic join her English Protestant family. When Beatrice refused Guglielmo that year, it was with the understanding that they meet again the next, and they did. The prudent mother, doubtful of the alliance, which appeared unsuitable to her, told the young man frankly she would not give him her daughter unless he promised, in case the marriage turned out badly, not to oppose a divorce. A request unseemly and baroque. . . . But Guglielmo was not a savant, not an engineer, nor even a man of good sense at the time: he was a lover, and he thought of nothing but his Beatrice, and he promised. On March 16, 1905, Guglielmo Marconi and Lady Beatrice O'Brien were legitimately married at the Anglican Church of St. George, London.

Undoubtedly Lady O'Brien knew her daughter well at the time she suspected her son-in-law, for at the end of thirteen years of marriage, in 1918, the demon of middle age approached Beatrice and drove her into the arms of a new love. . . . But Guglielmo had now become a man of ripe years, a considerable personage, with a rich fortune, and a senator of the Kingdom of Italy. He did not lose a moment's time listening to hopeless pleas. As Italian law made an action for divorce impossible, he did what other Italians of easy circumstances usually do to rid themselves of the bonds of matrimony, he went to Fiume, whence, in 1924, armed with his civil divorce, he came to attack the religious bonds before the Catholic Curia of the archdiocese of Westminster.

This tribunal, despite the private sentiments of the judges, found the case very simple. The couple had married with the mutual promise of a divorce in case of difficulties, and a promise of this nature, like a promise for the exclusion or limitation of children, vitiates the matrimonial contract. Common sense was sufficient to realize that one cannot hold an engagement of indissolubility and of fecundity, when at the same time one stipulates the opposite: to give and to retain do not go together. The marriage was declared null in 1926.

But Mrs. Marconi refused to listen and made an appeal to the Rota in Rome, claiming that the Anglican formula of marriage as

pronounced by her and by Marconi in the Church of St. George included the promise of fidelity until death and therefore constituted, *ipso facto*, a retraction of the promise for a divorce which had arisen with bizarre wisdom, in the imagination of Lady O'Brien.

The Rota did not accept this argument. The promise in the marriage ceremony, it declared, was nothing but a ceremonial formula which was part of the Anglican liturgy, neither deliberated spontaneously nor positively willed by the parties. Even in the eyes of the Church it had no value because the Anglican Church blesses the new marriages of divorcees. The Westminster verdict was confirmed. In part the verdict of the Roman Rota (*Acta Apostolicae Sedis* 1927. p. 217. Translation by Francis Joseph Sheed in his work, *Nullity and Marriage*, published by Sheed & Ward, New York and London) read:

Guglielmo Marconi in 1903 met and proposed to Lady Beatrice O'Brien. Her relations—particularly her mother—did not welcome the match. Her mother consented to the marriage only on his promising not to oppose her seeking a divorce if the marriage turned out unhappily. On this condition, *sine qua non*, accepted by Lady Beatrice, the marriage was celebrated in March, 1905, before an Anglican minister; for though Signor Marconi had been born of a Catholic father and baptized in the Catholic faith, he had been brought up by his mother as a Protestant, and was in fact an Anglican at the time of his marriage.

They lived together—though neither continuously, nor always in the harmony becoming a husband and wife, until 1918. Then they separated and Signor Marconi later secured a divorce on the ground of her adultery. In 1924 he petitioned for a decree of nullity from the Diocesan Court at Westminster on the ground that the condition made between them at the time the marriage was solemnized was contrary to the nature of marriage. Evidence of the existence of the condition was given by the two parties, by Lord Donough O'Brien and Lady Moira Bathurst (the brother and sister of Lady Beatrice) and by Marchio Solari (a friend of Signor Marconi).

(Marconi, himself, testified, according to the record of the Rota: "I declared to her that in the unfortunate eventuality of the mar-

riage not being happy we could have recourse to divorce proceedings and she agreed with me in respect to this possible measure.")

The petition was successful at Westminster, and later before the Rota: such a condition (if actually a *condition* and not merely an erroneous belief that marriage might safely be entered into since it was dissoluble) means that the state the parties agreed to enter was *not* a marriage.

Thus, in 1926, Marconi was free to marry the present marquesa. He has also been honoured at the Vatican with delicate missions and he has installed the Vatican radio station.

To American legal minds (Protestant, naturally) the nullification of this marriage was opposed on the grounds that in contractual relations, where the rights of others and where public interests are involved, "a private arrangement previously made and calculated to nullify it, cannot relieve the parties of its unpleasant consequences. . . . It is clear that the doctrine of the Roman Catholic Church in the Marconi case makes it quite possible for parties to a marriage, by arrangement before marriage, to command its voidability by that Church. . . . The institution of companionate marriage seems to be enjoyed without censure or penalties from Rome by those who are adroit enough to use the marriage machinery of both the Church and the state in a combination for marital relief."

A greater cause for international discussion was the case of Consuelo Vanderbilt, who at the age of seventeen met, loved, and was secretly engaged to a young American, M. Rutherford. Consuelo's mother (Mrs. O. H. P. Belmont) snatched her away from her *fiancé*, brought her to London, and set about finding a title high enough to go with the Vanderbilt millions. She chose Charles, Duke of Marlborough.

At Newport, soon after, the announcement of the engagement to the duke was made without Consuelo's knowledge, and upon the latter's protest the mother pleaded she would die of heart failure if opposed. On the 6th of November, 1895, the marriage took place in New York City with Episcopalian rites.

Still in love with young Rutherford, Consuelo shortly after the marriage, confided this to the duke, who, however, paid little attention to the confession. In 1897 in September, the duchess gave birth to her first son, John, and in October 1898 to her second son, Ivor Charles. The outside world was convinced that the marriage had turned out well.

Nine years passed before another marital difficulty of a serious nature arose. Perhaps it was because the duke felt he was not alone in the heart of his wife, perhaps it was because he no longer had a strong attachment for her; at any rate he began to neglect the ducal hearth and in 1905 a separation was granted to Consuelo. It was, however, too late to renew the first passion of her childhood. In 1919 the new idol of the American heiress was the French retired colonel, Count Balsan.

Here the difficulty arose. Jacques Balsan was born a Catholic and the Duchess of Marlborough likewise desired a religious marriage. Thus it came about that although she had a divorce judgment dating from 1920, she asked the Curia of Southwark to declare null the marriage of 1895.

The case progressed swiftly, very swiftly when one thinks of the habitual slowness of the Roman tribunals, and on February 9, 1926, the marriage was declared null and confirmed by the Rota in Rome on July 29th of the same year.

The decision in this case is a veritable human document, containing as it does the story of a romance of a broken heart and the testimony of the principals, as well as the reasoning of the Catholic dignitaries in coming to their conclusions. It is given here almost in full, the translation from *Acta Apostolicae Sedis* 1926, p. 501, being by Sheed:

Born of a rich American family, Consuelo Vanderbilt, a baptized non-Catholic, at the age of seventeen fell in love with a certain M—— R——, to whom she became secretly engaged. But her mother, when she learned of this, refused to accept her daughter's engagement; and further to destroy the love that had sprung up in her daughter's heart, she took her to Europe (in 1894); since Consuelo was a girl endowed with youth, beauty, and a great fortune, as well as a brilliant educa-

tion, she planned to marry her to a man in the highest ranks of the English nobility. And in London she came upon Charles, Duke of Marlborough, and invited him as a guest to her home at Newport in the United States of America, whither mother and daughter straightway returned.

Charles accepted the invitation, and in September, went to Newport, where he stayed with the Vanderbilt family some fifteen days. On the day before his departure Charles proposed to Consuelo herself, who fled to her mother, but with no success, for the mother caused the daily papers to publish the news of the engagement. After a journey through Canada, the duke at last returned to Consuelo, to whom he was wedded at New York on the 6th of November, 1895, in a Protestant church, since he also was a non-Catholic.

1. The marriage began badly; for soon after, the wife told her husband that she had gone to the altar unwillingly and forced by her mother, and that she was deeply in love with the other man. As their minds were thus discordant, and as the duke seriously neglected his wife, in 1905, there being now two children, they ceased to live together. In 1920, by mutual consent, they obtained a civil divorce, and each remarried. Finally, in 1925 the woman began an action for nullity of her marriage with the duke in the Matrimonial Court of Southwark, which on the 9th of February, 1926, after due trial, gave sentence of nullity of marriage on the ground of *vis et metus*. The *defensor vinculi* appealed to this Holy Office; wherefore the cause now comes to be tried afresh under the usual formula—"Is it agreed as to nullity of marriage in this case?"

2. As to the law. The ground is *metus reventualis* . . . the uniform practice of the Rota renders a marriage void if, in addition to other conditions, it is grave and is directed to the extortion of consent.

3. As to the facts. The Fathers thought it especially worthy to remark that, when the petitioner had given her promise of marriage to M— R—, whom she passionately loved, her mother had violently resisted the marriage and exerted all her force to turn her daughter's mind from the man and prevent marriage with him. On this point the petitioner has said: "My mother dragged me away from the influence of my suitor. She took me from my country, intercepted all the letters that he wrote to me and I wrote to him. She made continual scenes. She said that I must obey; that she knew that I had no right to choose a husband; that I must accept the man of her choice;

that my opposition was ruining her health and that I might be the cause of her death. There was a terrible scene when she told me that if I succeeded in escaping she would seize the first opportunity to shoot my lover, that she would then be put in prison and hanged, and that I would be responsible." This account is confirmed not only by the mother, but also by witnesses, in all its particulars, so that there ought to be no doubt whatsoever of its truth.

4. But further, it seemed to the Fathers not only that the mother had forcibly separated her daughter from the man she loved, but in addition that she had forced her to marry the Duke of Marlborough. . . . She (the daughter) has said: "I persist in my statement that if I consented to the marriage with the Duke of Marlborough, it was under the strongest pressure from my mother and according to her absolute will. . . ."

5. . . . The duke has given evidence that about twenty days after the wedding he learnt from his wife that she had contracted the marriage because she had been forced by her mother: "She told me that her mother had insisted upon her marrying me; that her mother was violently opposed to her marriage with M—— R——, and that every sort of constraint, pushed even to physical violence, had been employed to attain her end."

Consuelo's mother, who caused the fear, has admitted and declared: "I forced my daughter to marry the duke. . . . When I gave an order, no one argued. Therefore I did not ask her, I commanded her to marry the duke. . . . I then invited the duke to visit me at Newport. He came and stayed about a fortnight. Then I told my daughter that he was the man I had chosen for her. She was completely overcome, and replied that she could not marry him. I considered that I was justified in overriding her opposition as simply the folly of an inexperienced girl."

. . . Fear is proven.

This conclusion is strengthened the more by the aversion Consuelo felt for the duke: "His arrogant character created feelings of hostility in me. He had the air of despising everything not English; my pride was offended."

6. The Fathers held that there could be no doubt of the gravity of the fear. For fear may be considered grave even when there are no threats or blows; and the indignation of parents is in itself not only an evil, but—if it is severe and lasting—a grave evil. . . .

7. . . . As the threats did not cease and the mother's decision remained inflexible. Consuelo at last entered into wedlock with Charles. But it is clear that Consuelo had been compelled to choose the marriage that she might be freed from fear.

And the mother, fearing that Consuelo might at the last moment withdraw the assent which had been extorted from her, on the wedding day placed a guard at her bedroom door, that no one might have access to her or speech with her. And Consuelo entered upon marriage with such grief that the duke has said, "She arrived very late and looked upset."

8. The marriage thus contracted by Consuelo under grave fear was not validated by subsequent ratification. For the validation of her consent it would be necessary that the petitioner should have known of the nullity of the marriage through defect of consent, and that she should have renewed matrimonial consent while the married life continued in being. But it is unlikely that Consuelo was possessed of canonical knowledge as to the impediments which invalidate marriage, the more so as she belonged to a non-Catholic sect. . . . But since no proof has been offered that she knew of the impediment which invalidated, and since spiritual disharmony began in a very short time and lasted until the sentence of divorce, it cannot be suggested that there was a renewal of consent on Consuelo's part.

9. All these things having been considered and carefully weighed, invoking the name of Christ, we the undersigned Auditors, sitting as a court and having God alone before our eyes, confirming the sentence of the Diocese of Southwark, declare and give definitive sentence: "*Constare de matrimonii nullitate inter Consuelam Vanderbilt et Carolum De Marlborough,*" and thus to the question proposed we answer, "Affirmative," further deciding that the same Consuelo Vanderbilt is to pay all the expenses of the case.

Romae, in sede Tribunalis S. R. Rotae, die 29 iulii, 1926

Henricus Quattrocolo, Poneus  
Franciscus Morano  
Arcturus Wynen.

Rarely in modern times have churchly men engaged in such furious polemics as followed this decision. Dr. William T. Manning, Protestant Episcopal bishop of New York, challenged the right of the Catholic Church to declare marriage by the Epis-



copal Church under the law of the state of New York, null and void under the laws of Rome; he declared further that the assumption of jurisdiction by the Vatican "will be rightly resented by great numbers of our people," and he denied the facts upon which the annulment was based. He called the Rota's action "unjustifiable intrusion." In England, where the Anglican Church had long been taunted by Catholics as having been founded on a divorce scandal—that of Henry VIII—the claim was made that that Church was now the sole upholder of the indissolubility of marriage. The archdeacon of Westminster, R. H. Charles, D.D., attacking the decree of nullity, stated that it was

derived from the combination of this false dogma of the indissolubility of marriage with a series of fantastic impediments devised by the Mediæval Church to a valid marriage. But this is not all. When this fiction was linked up with the numerous fantastic impediments which the Mediæval Church devised to a valid marriage, it gave birth to the extraordinary dogma of nullity which is the peculiar property of the Roman Church, and which in the hands of the Roman Curia has been the source of intolerable moral scandals of the past 600 years as well as of a large revenue. [This revenue varied naturally according to the nature of the case and the characters of the popes. Within the last fifty years the cost of procuring a decree of nullity or a dispensation has varied from the modest fee of seven dollars in French Canada to four thousand pounds (\$20,000) in the case of the prince who in 1888 was allowed by the Vatican to marry his niece. Lord Acton (*Historical Essays and Studies*, p. 76 sq.) observes that marriage dispensations "became by careful management productive sources of revenue." Thus for declaring Louis XII's marriage null and void the pope secured for his son "a French principality, a French wife, and a French army wherewith to conquer the Romagna," and for rendering a kindred service to Ladislaus of Hungary, he "earned 25,000 ducats."]

There is undoubtedly a reasonable and indisputable doctrine of nullity, such as our supreme courts of justice recognize, but it has nothing in common with the lawless and immoral dogma of Rome.

Rome is ready to declare a marriage null and void on the ground of coercion.

This ground for the declaration of nullity leads to the most questionable results. It has lately been brought into undesirable prominence by a recent case affecting an English peer and an American heiress. As the *Solicitors' Journal* of January 1, 1927, states, the incumbent of the church where the ceremony took place emphatically denies that Miss Vanderbilt was an unwilling bride; and further testifies that she was described as radiant by one of the officiating clergy.

Probably few marriages have had such publicity, and the bride stated to be terrified by her mother must have had the chance of appeal to hundreds of her friends to help her. But she appealed to none, took her title and bore the duke two sons before she found out, like the petitioner for annulment in David Copperfield's case, who married in his wrong name "in case he was not as comfortable as he hoped to be," that she was not as comfortable as in fact she hoped to be, and then procured a divorce in the English court. The chief evidence given for annulment, according to *The Times* summary of December 8th, was that of the petitioner and her mother, the latter no doubt anxious to regularize her daughter's present marriage, and therefore testifying to her own tyranny for this purpose. The value of such testimony, when the lady had no fear of consequences, and without the record of a rigid and efficient cross-examination, may be judged accordingly. The assumption was made in the note that the annulment of the marriage rendered the issue of it illegitimate, on the ordinary principle of law that a contract which is declared absolutely and altogether void, is not valid for its chief purpose. English lawyers will perhaps be less surprised at the error of this assumption than at the anomalous effect of the Roman decree of nullity, which the plain man will hardly distinguish on this point from the English divorce.

An annulment by the Roman Church has, of course, no effect whatever in English law.

The American Protestant jurist's point of view was expressed by Charles C. Marshall, in this way:

In the jurisprudence of every civilized country the wife would have been stopped from obtaining an annulment because of letters (on record in the English divorce court) written to her husband (who had separated himself from her) expressly begging him to return, and

because of the great lapse of time. Conclusive presumptions would have been established against fraud, in the interests of social morality and of the general law governing the sanctity of contracts. But the wife applied to the courts of the Roman Catholic Church, in whose law no such embarrassing presumptions were tolerated. She asked for annulment upon the theory that she had been under fear and duress at the time of the marriage, and that her subsequent acts and the great lapse of time were not a ratification of the marriage because she had not known in all that time that such fear, if it existed, established her claim in the Roman Catholic courts to an annulment. . . . In the Marlborough case, as in the Marconi case, it was demonstrated that the law of the Roman Catholic Church in its maintenance of a legal status of marriage and its own "jurisdiction" over it, disregards those great salutary principles in reference to the validity of contracts and the suppression of fraud which the experience of mankind has found absolutely essential. The absence in any system of jurisprudence of these principles would necessarily, even if unjustly, associate its courts in the popular mind with those facilities for escaping matrimonial obligations that prevail at Reno and Paris.

In America and in England leading Catholics and the Catholic press spent considerable time and space explaining to a lay public the functions of the Rota. A leading London Catholic publication, for example, replied to a serious attack as follows:

It has been urged by a certain "columnary" divine, who, incidentally, wherever Romanists are concerned is also calumnious (it would seem that Dean Inge is indicated), that there is a strong inconsistency between the severity the Catholic Church preaches in matrimonial affairs and the laxity she practices. While, in point of fact, she repudiates with indignation the theory of divorce, actually she camouflages its reality, he maintains, beneath the cloak of a declaration of nullity. It is only necessary, it is alleged, to be rich, famous, or, indeed, notorious, and it is the easiest matter in the world to get Rome to dissolve a marriage.

This opinion is not peculiar to the English divine in question, but is very widespread, particularly since the case of the Duke of Marlborough so deeply agitated the Church of England and Protestant Episcopal circles both in England and America.

It then analyses the 1930 work of the Rota: 43 cases were heard which were considered or feared invalid. Of these, 33 were dismissed and a favourable action taken in 10. There were also considered 10 appeals from previous judgments and a reversal given in 6 cases, all but one in favour of the validity of the marriage. Of the 43 cases, 24 were submitted *in forma pauperis* and nullity was found in 8. Of the total of 53 cases in the year, 29 were *in forma pauperis*, and in only 14 was nullity rendered or confirmed.

On the same subject the Calvert handbook of Catholic facts, published for the purpose of contradicting the numerous myths and false accusations against the Catholic Church, has this to say:

It has been alleged that in declaring null the marriage of the Duke of Marlborough, the Catholic Church illegitimized his children. This is directly contrary to the fact. The Church regarded these children and others in similar state, and explicitly describes them as legitimate.

Incidentally, the Marlborough case can in no wise be regarded as typifying the general attitude of the Catholic Church towards marriages without its pale. In this particular instance its experts were asked to decide whether a given union was or was not a marriage. Under the evidence in the Marlborough case, showing by overwhelming force of testimony that the wife entered the contract without her full and free consent, under the threats and compulsion of another, any marriage, a Catholic marriage as well as a Protestant marriage, would under the general teachings of the Church have been declared never to have existed.

The third of the sensational cases which brought the Rota to the breakfast-table conversation of a large part of the world, concerned the Marquis Boniface de Castellane and Miss Anna Gould. The American heiress was baptized in the Protestant Episcopal Church, and in New York, March 14, 1895, joined her colossal fortune with one of the most beautiful names in France and the supreme elegance of Paris. At least such was the prodigious balance sheet published in the social columns. But it was perhaps a little too much to demand of the author of *Transatlantique* that he settle down to a tranquil and durable conjugal happiness.

Things went badly from the beginning, very badly, and in 1898 Anna Gould became thoroughly dissatisfied with the conduct of her lustrous husband, as well as the syncopation of the Faubourg St.-Germain. In 1906 she obtained a civil divorce in France, retaining her name, her dollars, and her star-spangled liberty.

History does not state whether the marquis regretted her. He is a man of positive character, and, if one can believe the anecdote-makers, he remained so. Not long ago, it is said, speaking of the engagement of a young woman, noble but poor, to an old landed proprietor of Sweden, rolling in gold, he said, coldly: "It is repugnant—repugnant, but reasonable. . . ." And once, while still living under the same roof as the Marquise, *née* Gould, while conducting his friends through the mansion, he showed them all the rooms, save the bedchamber, in front of which, with head bowed, he was heard murmuring in a penetrating voice, "The expiatory chapel!" In truth it is hard to believe that M. Boni de Castellane suffered cruelly in having lost Miss Gould.

But his reputation for elegance, his world, his traditions, made him resent the cruel affront and the ridicule of having been divorced by her. When she married the Duke de Sagan, a Catholic who gave up his faith, Boni asked the ecclesiastical court to nullify his marriage.

To make a marriage valid the three requirements are that there be free consent, that in expressing consent the formalities be observed, and that the parties are capable of entering matrimony. The conference bulletin of the archdiocese of New York thus reports the Boni appeal:

In asking to have his marriage declared null and void, Boni based his contention on the lack of the required consent on the part of Anna Gould. . . . Necessary consent is wanting if one positively excludes from the contract one of the essential elements of matrimony. The essential elements of matrimony are: Indissolubility, unity, and the specific object of this contract which consists in the right and duty of both parties to coöperate in the procreation of children. In the present case, Boni contended that Anna Gould had excluded the first of these elements, namely, the element of perpetuity or indissolubility.

Boni claimed, as Marconi was to do many years later, that there had been an agreement for divorce, if unhappy. On December 9, 1911, the Sacred Roman Rota held that invalidity was unproved, and the count appealed. On the first day of March, 1913, he produced new evidence and the first decree was reversed, but on February 8, 1915, the Rota returned to its first decision. Between the second and third trials the officer known as "the defender of the marriage bond" had intervened, as is the custom.

Finally the desperate Boni took the case to the pontiff, who appointed a special commission of cardinals. The cardinals held the marriage invalid. Pope Pius XI recommitted the whole process, adding Cardinals Pompili, Lega, Mori, and Sincero to the special commission, and in 1925, according to dispatches from Rome, the decision was that the marriage had not been shown invalid. At the same time the appeal of the Princess Rospigliosi to dissolve her former marriage to Mr. Parkhurst in order to regularize that to the prince, was also refused. In both cases the claims of Protestants were upheld against appeals of their Catholic partners. "Had the marriage of Count Boni de Castellane with Miss Anna Gould been declared invalid by the Commission of Cardinals appointed by the Holy See," commented Paul L. Blakely of the Society of Jesus, "we should again have heard the cry so often raised by controversialists of a certain type, 'the Catholic Church always yields to the claims of money and rank.' However, as the Holy See has declined to annul this marriage, may we look for some tribute to the stern sense of justice which invariably rules the ecclesiastical courts?"

This stern sense of justice is best explained by Sheed. Nullity, he shows, concerns the contract only; if that is valid the relationship arises and cannot be nullified. No real contract can exist if the parties did not actually agree to marry, or if they were not free to marry, or if they did not do it freely, or if they did not observe the necessary form. The most obvious instance where a man and a woman do not agree to marry "is where the man and woman explicitly agree that their marriage shall be terminated either at the end of a particular period, or if either of them should

demand it. This is not an agreement to marry—since marriage is a union of a man and a woman for life.”

On the ground of non-consummated marriage Alexander VI dissolved the marriage of his daughter, Lucrezia Borgia. The husband, Giovanni Sforza, swore this was not true, then under pressure from his family wrote a declaration that there had been no consummation. Marriage is null and void if there is absolute lack of knowledge of what marriage is. The *Acta Apostolicæ Sedis* 1921 gives a decision in such a case, that of Tsi Tchong-Lin, whose father bought a girl of thirteen, Maria Hin, as a wife. But Tsi, aged thirty, was stupid, even welcoming Maria's lover whom she took when she was eighteen. Finally Maria asked for a decree of nullity on account of Tsi's abysmal ignorance, and this was granted.

The question of form sometimes comes before the Rota. A Catholic must be married before the parish priest, or his delegate, and two more witnesses, otherwise the marriage is clandestine and null. The most famous case of clandestinity, Sheed recounts, is the so-called marriage of Napoleon by civil ceremony in 1796. “This union was certainly defective in form—clandestine. Fearing that Napoleon would have the marriage annulled, Josephine informed Pope Pius VII. . . . The pope refused to crown the emperor until the marriage was rectified, and Cardinal Fesch (who had received from the pope all the dispensations necessary for the execution of his duties as first chaplain to the emperor) married the pair without witnesses in the private apartments at the Tuileries. In 1807, Napoleon wishing to marry Marie Louise, sought a declaration of nullity from the diocesan courts in Paris on the grounds (1) that he had not freely consented to the second ceremony, but had acted under pressure; (2) that the ceremony had lacked the presence of the parish priest and two witnesses. . . . The court on the first instance decided in favor of nullity. . . . Pius VII protested that the sentence was illegal, on the ground that the Parisian courts were acting outside their jurisdiction, but not that it was intrinsically unjust. On this he never gave a ruling.

. . . Josephine did not appeal against the decree; the case never came before him. Its justice must remain doubtful. . . ."

The methods of procedure for persons seeking to annul a marriage are quite simple. The case first is heard in the diocesan court. The official known as the *defensor vinculi* sustains the validity of the contract. The bishop can declare nullity under Canon 1990 if there is proof beyond contradiction that one of the parties to the marriage was not baptized or was in holy orders or was bound by the vow of chastity or had a spouse living or was related to the other within prohibited decrees. In all the other cases and frequently in those specified, the *defensor*, if dissatisfied, is bound to appeal to a higher court, that of the Metropolitan or the Roman Rota. If the second court upholds nullity, the *defensor*, still dissatisfied, may appeal again.

The poor pay nothing. In all cases the expenses are comparatively small. The ethics of the court are similar to that of the medical profession where the rich are charged a larger fee so that the poor can be treated for nothing. In the Vanderbilt-Marlborough case the judgment bears the revenue stamp of 5,000 lire, or a little more than £30 at the then rate of exchange.

Almost all American and British cases are heard by the Roman Rota. But among more than 300,000,000 Catholics only 442 brought their troubles there in the decade 1920-1930. Ninety-five were appeals from previous decisions of the same body. Of the new 347 cases, 175 were granted and 172 refused. The four years ending in 1931 show 207 cases heard, of which 111 paid their own expenses and of which 39, or 35 per cent, were successful, while of 96 too poor to pay, 40, or 41 per cent, were successful.

To the usual charge by hostile critics and enemies of the Rota that it bastardizes children, Sheed states authoritatively that "the children of a putative marriage are illegitimate. But the Church . . . enacts that the children of a putative marriage are legitimate (Canon 1114)—as a putative marriage is one where there is the appearance of marriage though in fact no marriage, yet where both parties were free to marry at the time of contract, and one at least is in good faith. This definition, of course, normally covers



'mixed marriages,' that is, marriages between Catholics and non-Catholics.

A climax to the annulment controversy occurred October 1, 1927, when the pope received Monsignor Massimi, the dean of the judges of the Rota tribunal. Monsignor Massimi, referring to the criticism in press and (Protestant) pulpit of the decisions in the Marconi-O'Brien and the Marlborough-Vanderbilt cases, defended the Rota against the three usual accusations: that it meddled in affairs which did not concern it, as the parties were not Catholics, that the decisions violated the Catholic principle of the indissolubility of marriage, and that annulments had been granted because the parties were rich.

The pope replied approving the action of the court and urging it to "harmonize the supreme law of the indissolubility of marriage with justice for the rights of individuals." As regards the first accusation, it was absurd, as the text of the decision showed. As regards the third charge, the figures for the last year were sufficient answer. There were 45 final sentences, 28 favourable, and 50 per cent of the cases were free because the appellants were too poor to pay. Money from the richer parties covered the costs of the hearings of the gratuitous cases and left no surplus. "If, therefore, the court is a refuge for the rich, it is also a refuge for the poor." The Rota, concluded the pope, must continue to listen to requests from non-Catholics because the Catholic Church is the mother of all souls redeemed by the precious blood of Christ.

The visitor to Saint Peter's will notice the vast confessionals, usually empty, many with a Latin inscription welcoming pilgrims from the farthest corners of the earth to confess their sins in the mother of all churches. *Pro lingua hispanico . . . pro lingua gallica . . . pro lingua hungarica . . . pro lingua anglica . . .* all the languages are there except Esperanto. In the stall of the confessors one may notice a very long rod. These confessionals with rods exist only at two other major basilicas, Saint John Lateran and Santa Maria Maggiore, and that is about all that the Roman masses know of the Sacred Penitentiary.

The priests who occupy these confessionals are part of the Tribunal of the Penitentiary. They are, in fact, the "penitentiaries" properly called, who visit the three basilicas, and who, on finding the kneeling pilgrim in a state of grace, reach out the long rod from the confessional as a sign of clemency, touch the kneeler's head, raise him, and grant him an indulgence.

The penitentiaries are the great "pardoners" of the Church. To them is confided not only the mission of keeping the body and soul clean, but also the funeral preparations of the sovereign pontiff before whose deathbed they come to pray.

The origin of the Sacred Penitentiary goes far into history. In 1130 at the Council of Clermont, Pope Innocent II reserved for himself "absolution for crimes of percussion against clergy (meaning assault against any ecclesiastic) wherever they are committed." At this epoch the clergy were frequently the victims of armed attacks. The pope in reserving for himself alone the right to absolve aggressors intended to underline the gravity of the attacks and to diminish them. Later, the number of attacks increased. The necessity of establishing an office, a special tribunal, to examine demands for absolution which arrived from all parts of the Christian world, was evident, and the Sacred Penitentiary was created.

Today it consists of a cardinal penitentiary who alone has a golden rod, a regent, five prelates of the Segnatura, the procurator secretary, the substitute, and several officers or inferior functionaries. The cardinal penitentiary is named for life. It is he who gives absolution to the pope on his deathbed and who looks after the burial of the pope.

The Segnatura is the supreme court of the Catholic Church. Its name comes from the fact that the prelates of the Curia to whom the pope has confided the consistorial task of examining petitions of all sorts must submit their reply for pontifical signature. The tribunal dates from the fifteenth century, but it has undergone many changes. At first it was divided into two parts, the first a real tribunal which was called the Papal Segnatura of Justice and heard disputes and criminal cases, the second part

playing only a consultative rôle and occupying itself with requests for clemency. It was called the Segnatura of Mercy.

The abolition of temporal power in 1870 was supposed to have closed this court forever, but Pius X did not wish to see it disappear and reconstituted it as one body, uniting the Segnatura of Mercy with the Segnatura of Justice. Six cardinals compose this supreme court. Benedict XV in June, 1915, gave it the special mission of dealing with matrimonial affairs.

With the restoration of temporal power there is new work for the courts of the Vatican. And even the Segnatura of Grace may be said to function again, for we read the official announcement in the *Osservatore Romano* of June 12, 1931, that "The sovereign pontiff has issued his pardon for Vincenzo Massotti, recently condemned to fifty-five days' imprisonment for theft."

There is no guillotine, no electric chair, in the State of Vatican City. . . .



## CHAPTER XIII

### *The Secretary of State and Others*

AT A TIME WHEN THE SOVEREIGN PONTIFF FACED A NEW, TURBULENT world and found his time devoted to negotiations and discussions, he created the secretariat of state. Centuries of Church history up to the fifteenth passed before the pope, continually forced to engage in politics, saw the necessity of having his own prime minister.

At first this official was chosen from the family of the pope himself. To be the nephew of the sovereign pontiff, at that time, constituted a pledge of nobility or a promise of enrichment. But from 1559 to 1692, the time of the "cardinal nephews," consanguinity was a source of responsibilities.

The "cardinal nephew" always received the title and the functions of "secretary of the pope and superintendent-general of the ecclesiastical state." There was a time when he was also called "cardinal master" and "*cardinal padrone*." This strange institution is placed in a curious light by Georges Goyau, who says in his history of the government of the Church, "Certain popes in the past enriched their nephews; Pius IV and Gregory XIII made theirs work. It is wrong to accuse the second system of nepotism. They did not exploit the Church for the profit of their family, but exploited the family for the profit of the Church; Charles Borromeo, nephew of Pius IV, was an ascetic and a saint."

In a document dated 1602, Sixtus V enumerated the qualities necessary for his cardinal nephew. The list made an impression. . . . The prime minister of the Vatican must know everything. He must have read everything, understood everything—but he must say nothing. He must know even the pieces played in the

theatre, because of the documentation they contain of distant lands [*sic*]. Finally, it is recommended that he have enough courage to spare the pope unjust decisions, enough cleverness to have bad decisions adjourned. . . . An ideal portrait is painted here. And although the Sixtine document has had its authenticity questioned, it nevertheless enlightens us significantly on the multiple tasks of the cardinal nephew. He would have to be a man of the Renaissance, a personage of extraordinary activity, of encyclopædic knowledge.

The disappearance of the cardinal nephews led to inconveniences. When, after 150 years, the office was suppressed in 1692, Innocent XII could not suppress the rivalries which frequently broke out between the cardinal secretary of state and the cardinal camerlingo. In the eyes of the latter, whose functions were official and defined by ceremonial and represented the cardinal aristocracy, the former despite his purple, cut a poor figure as a "grey eminence." But the grey eminence kicked against the encroachments of the camerlingo, especially in such instances as under Pius VII, when he was called Consalvi and the camerlingo Pacca. Therefore it required the abolition of temporal power in 1870 for a complete distinction to be made between the respective functions of the cardinal camerlingo and the cardinal secretary of state.

The secretary of state today is the king of the pontifical Curia. While the other offices, chancellery, datary, apostolic chamber, enter, one after the other, into the majestic repose of the past, the secretariat grows continually and establishes itself, thanks to the progress of the "modern" papacy.

The origin of the secretariat lies in the *camera secreta* of the popes of the Middle Ages. These already had diplomatic relations, at times most delicate, with the temporal princes. This special correspondence, which had neither the solemnity nor the publicity of bulls, was written and expedited by special notaries comparable today to the "cabinets" of the various European ministries. They formed the secret cabinet, or *camera secreta*.

In the fifteenth century this *camera secreta* developed into an

indispensable instrument of the papacy which felt itself weak as compared with the growing monarchies. The briefs became a model of diplomatic style, thanks to a group of specialists who worked under the direction of a new functionary, the *secretarius domesticus*, ancestor of the secretary of briefs. Leo X further divided the work. Alongside the *secretarius domesticus* who specialized in official communications and the complementary protocols, in Latin, he placed a private secretary, *il segretario del papa*, whom he charged with political instruction, this time drawn in Italian, for his new agents, the nuncios. This chosen collaborator, the first of whom was Bisbiena, his cultured preceptor whom he brought from Florence, is the forerunner of the present secretary of state.

At first, despite proximity to the supreme head, the *segretario del papa* possessed almost none of the influence which came to his successors. During the Renaissance the pope's secretary had to vie with the cardinal nephew until the seventeenth century, when the secretary of the pope remained the sole master of pontifical diplomacy.

Before 1870 the secretary of state was also considered to be a real premier—he was so termed in the constitution of Pius IX in 1847—but the loss of temporal power and its renaissance in 1929 have indeed enlarged his rôle and extended his influence throughout the Curia. Nowadays the secretary sees the pope every morning and sometimes more frequently. They discuss and decide all questions pertaining to the political policies of the Vatican. Except for the pope, whose will he serves, the secretary of state is the most powerful man in Rome.

In the diplomatic field he reigns over three offices. The first is the section of extraordinary ecclesiastical affairs, directed by the secretary of the congregation of the same name, to which all great questions of Vatican diplomacy are brought. Current events, the dispatch of Vatican agents, relations with the diplomatic corps accredited to the Vatican, come under the second office, the secretariat of ordinary affairs. Ever since Leo X took this precaution to prevent interference with Vatican diplomacy, it has, in common

with other nations, maintained a code department in its foreign office. Another function of this department is the preparation of dossiers of the thousands of persons who present their claims for honours, decorations, titles, medals. It requires six editors, seven stenographers, and six archivists to attend to this work. The third section, the chancellery of briefs, is the ancient secretariat of briefs, attached to the department of state in 1908.

At the present moment some thirty states are represented by an agent, a minister, or an ambassador to the Vatican, which in turn has thirty-five representatives abroad, not including the apostolic delegates who have no diplomatic power (as is the case in the United States), but who may often present the embryo of a nunciature. The Vatican has need of the most talented personnel, and, curiously enough, it has sought them from the same milieu as the new nations of Central Europe; it has taken professors from the universities and scholars. The most marked examples are Monsignor Ratti, nuncio once at Warsaw, and Monsignor Borgognini-Duca, now nuncio at Rome.

The present policy of the Holy See is a policy of representation and of accords, no matter if limited.

Policy of representation: Never has the Vatican multiplied its envoys of all sorts and especially its legates, as since the war. It desires to "show," as has been said, its existence and its power. Where circumstances do not permit a legate, telegrams, autograph letters, messages, often detailed, arrive frequently to remind governments of the friendly regard of the Holy See and to unite even the least among Catholics with the centre of its unity.

Policy of accords: The Vatican pursues and realizes in almost all countries its patient policy of making concordats. When concordats are difficult to conclude, as in certain Central European states, or where they might not contain anything of great importance, they are reduced to a simple *modus vivendi*. But in every instance the Vatican remains adamant on two conditions which never existed in ancient concordats and which are essential for it today: it must have the right to name bishops without interfer-

ence, so that the power of the clergy remains altogether "Roman"; and since Pius XI it includes the diplomatic recognition of the Catholic Action (or League) in all diplomatic instruments.

The cardinal secretary [says Douglas Sladen] needs encyclopædic knowledge and almost superhuman intuition and tact, gifts with which Cardinal Merry del Val is richly blessed. . . . There are few people who know so much of the religious affairs of all countries as Cardinal Merry del Val; he is obliged to keep himself *au courant*, and being half an Englishman (he was born in London), with English as much his native tongue as Italian, he has a grasp of the affairs of the various Protestant sects and of English and American opinion which no previous papal secretary of state ever had. More than that, his intuition into English and American character, which is wonderful, rests on the firm basis of having himself the sterling Anglo-Saxon qualities.

His time for book-reading is necessarily limited, but the way he keeps up with the newspapers is extraordinary. . . . He has, of course, in addition, an army of correspondents and confidential agents; and he has need of them all, for, as Goyau observes, his position exposes him peculiarly to ambushes. He is obliged to make personal enemies by his decisions, and, in addition, all the enemies of the Church are his enemies.

The present secretary is Eugenio Cardinal Pacelli, former papal nuncio at Munich and Berlin. It was during his service in the Bavarian capital that the pope made his great attempt for peace in 1917, with Pacelli as his spokesman. He succeeded Cardinal Gasparri, who had the almost unique honour of serving two successive pontiffs for any length of time. Compared with Merry del Val, Gasparri has been called a radical, but that term is purely relative.

Cardinal Gasparri was appointed to the secretariat of extraordinary affairs by Cardinal Rampolla in 1901, and was greatly influenced by its head. In the codification of the canon law, a work begun by Cardinal del Val in the first year of the pontificate of Pius X, Cardinal Gasparri bore the largest burden and is entitled to the greatest share of honour.



Created a cardinal by Pius X in 1907, he was named secretary of state in October of the first war year by Benedict XV. It was a time when the Central Empires were demanding moral support from the Vatican, especially for Francis Joseph, "his apostolic majesty." The Vatican was neutral and it was Cardinal Gasparri who had to prove its neutrality to the diplomatic corps and to the world.

Cardinal Gasparri, with the pope and with Cardinal Ratti, shared the drafting of the peace note of 1917. It was again Gasparri who had to convince Italy and France of the integrity of the Vatican's position. He succeeded so well that shortly after the war the resumption of diplomatic relations with France was brought about and steps towards the Roman settlement.

In 1926 the ground had been cleared for negotiations with Mussolini. It took three years, but the result was a great triumph for Gasparri. Having accomplished great things, Gasparri retired, with the highest honours the king and the pope could give him and a reputation as one of the foremost statesmen of the century.

Tuesdays and Fridays, when the secretary of state is meeting the diplomatic corps, the head of the second section of the state department, the secretary of the code, takes his place in audience with the pope. He is an important prelate. But with the presentation of the belinograph by its inventor, M. Edouard Belin, the Vatican may soon be able to dispense with its costly diplomatic code system. The belinograph, which costs 350,000 francs, not only is able to transmit photographs by radio, but the texts of diplomatic correspondence, scrambled electrically, which the recipients can easily decipher with the key.

The papal briefs are next in importance to papal bulls, and far more numerous. As their names indicate, the briefs are not very long: "I name you secretary of briefs," Pius IX, who did not detest a pun, once said to an extremely short prelate. Outside of length there are other differences between bulls and briefs. The bull emanates in the chancellery, the brief in the secretariat. Moreover, the bull, so called because of its lead seal (*bulla*), which indicates

its authenticity, is the most ancient form of pontifical letter, dating from the seventh century, while the brief dates from but the seventeenth. The bull is written on antique parchment, the brief on vellum. Before Leo XIII there was a difference in writing also, a *littera bollatica* for the bull, letters difficult to read, while the brief bore ordinary Latin characters. The bull is sealed with lead; the brief, on the contrary, bears the imprint of the Fisherman's Ring in conformity to its last line, which is always *sub annulo piscatoris*.

What is this Fisherman's Ring which has been mentioned frequently? It is a gold ring which each new pope puts on his finger and which has in its centre, on a gold plaque, the image of Saint Peter seated in a bark and bearing the inscription, "You shall be a fisher of men." Above this image is engraved the name of the reigning pope. The original is in the keeping of the chamberlain. Before Gregory XVI the seal was produced in red wax on the vellum briefs, and this seal was placed at the bottom or the reverse of the document. Since 1842 the red wax seal has been replaced by a more prosaic rubber stamp in red ink.

Bulls or briefs? Save in a few instances which are reserved for bulls—which today are no longer six yards of parchment, but sixty-six by fifty centimetres exactly—the pope has his choice. If it is a matter of condemning a heresy, or ratifying a concordat, or announcing a council, or publishing a jubilee, or canonizing a saint, or erecting a university, the solemn bull is generally selected. But there is no fixed regulation. The episcopal hierarchy was reestablished in England by a brief . . . and in Scotland by a bull. A bull, for example, proclaimed the elevation of a certain bishopric to archbishopric. As for the Society of Jesus, it was instituted by a bull, suppressed by a brief, and reestablished by a bull. . . . Psychologist commentators may draw conclusions if they so desire; there are enough subtleties in Rome. . . .

In actual practice, the briefs are usually used to confer honours and to announce special taxes. The orders of Saint Sylvester, of Saint Gregory, and of Pius IX, the titles of Roman nobility, are

given to the elect laymen of the Catholic world through the instrument of a brief.

Up to the time of Innocent XI the Secretariat of Briefs to Princes and the Secretariat of Latin Letters were part of the Secretariat of Briefs, but since the end of the seventeenth century they are separate. It may be noted that in speaking of briefs to princes there is included nowadays not only royal rulers, but the presidents of the most democratic republics, and also the bishops, and sometimes ordinary persons whom the pope wishes to honour. When it is not a matter of religion requiring a brief or a bull, a simple sheet of paper is used, which may be handed to the nuncio to deliver, or to an envoy. These letters bear the signature of the pope.

The Secretariat of Latin Letters corrects the pontifical missives. The secretary and the secretary of briefs must be perfect Latinists, not only in the Latin of the Church, a beautiful language, capable of astonishing Cicero in his inferno, but a classic Latin, elegant, frequently flowery, to which Leo XIII, translator of Propertius and himself a distinguished poet, restored the traditions of Christian humanism.

The two secretaries are consulted by the pope before the publication of his encyclicals, his discourses and instructions for the Catholic universe. The importance of the encyclicals is so great that the utmost care must be taken, especially when the original draft is in the vulgar tongue. The encyclical *Quadragesimo anno*, Pius XI's corollary to the famous *Rerum novarum* of Leo XIII, was written originally in French. To this circumstance perhaps is due the mediocre phrase, *pugna classium* for *lutte de classes*, or "war of the classes," in the French.

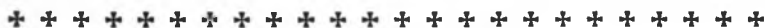
Encyclicals are always of considerable, frequently of exceptional, importance, and none has made a greater impression than the great encyclicals of the contemporary epoch: *Quanta cura* of Pius IX; *Rerum novarum* of Leo XIII; *Pascendi* of Pius X; *Casti connubii* of Pius XI.

To the encyclical *Quanta cura* (1864) in which Pius IX con-

demned any principle which held the Church subordinate to the state in matters of religion, he attached his *Syllabus* (or catalogue) of eighty "heretical, false, dangerous, or rash" propositions. This *Syllabus*, often badly presented or badly understood, has remained the chief weapon of anti-clericalism in Latin countries and also took a prominent place in Protestant questions to the presidential candidate, Alfred E. Smith.

Of the encyclical *Rerum novarum*, which condemned Socialism, affirmed the legitimacy of property, and encouraged the Catholic labour unions, more will be said in the chapter devoted to the Catholic political parties. The encyclical *Pascendi* of 1907 showed the vigilance of the Vatican in the philosophic field. It constitutes a synthesis—arbitrary, according to the modernists, but at all events, vigorous and energetic—of the seductive and subtle manifestations which had been named "Modernism," and condemned them in relation to faith, theology, ecclesiastic history, criticism, and apologetics. This encyclical had its logical place in the effort for unification which marked the pontificate of Pius X; one need hardly reproach it for the needless rudeness of certain police operations which accompanied the enforcement, and especially for the baseness of certain unauthorized executors. All in all, it succeeded—except in isolated cases in Italy and France and a part of the clergy in Germany—and "Modernism" has almost disappeared everywhere. (To the encyclical *Casti connubii*, which deals with marriage, we shall refer in a later chapter.)

These examples are enough to underline the diversity and gravity of the subjects of encyclicals. The Latin expression of pontifical thoughts regarding such grave social, philosophical, and moral problems evidently demands that the collaborators of the pope be excellent stylists. With the knowledge of the ancient language they must also bring the most extensive information on the situation of the present. And this is why, the more one learns about the secretaries of the pope, the more one realizes that their positions are not sinecures.



## CHAPTER XIV

### *The Pontifical Court*

ABOVE ALL ELSE PERHAPS, THE VATICAN IS A COURT. AT THE SUMMIT of its hierarchy there is a throne, and on this throne is seated a sovereign who does not limit himself to reigning; he governs. This sovereign is the last absolute monarch in Europe. (In the sense of sovereign or head of traditional states, the Fascist Duce, his various imitators, including Hitler and other dictators, also impose their absolutism which has not even the counterbalances that affect papal omnipotence).

Primarily the spirit of Rome is the spirit of the court. The court spirit is occupied with little things, with details, with ribbons, favours, and decorations. It concentrates on itself, looking within instead of opening without. Towards great events it takes the attitude of an official gazette. It is without enthusiasm, without courage, and without heart. Its energy, if it has any, is used up in sterile antechamber manœuvres. . . . A court is a place without air and light, where only miasmas swarm.

The Roman court is not exempt from human faults. But it tempers them with finesse and with noteworthy patience which redounds to its reputation. The most displeasing manifestations are the immoderate consideration of money, and the narcissism which one finds surrounding the person of the pope. This servility, which reaches even to visitors in Rome, need it be said, has nothing in common with the devotion of the heart which the Christian owes to the pope. Historically it explains the violent reactions of certain arbitrary spirits of the time of the Reformation who spoke of Rome as Babylon and the She-Wolf; in times nearer us,

Montalembert impatiently employed the phrase "the idol which is flattered at the Vatican."

What we wish to say applies, it is easily perceived, to the framework of the pontifical monarchy, to the aulic relations, exterior, visible, of the persons who compose it, rather than of their interior life, which we cannot penetrate.

The institutions which are criticized were, moreover, not the inventions of the popes or their councillors. The reader may recall the account in a previous chapter of the crushing glories of Byzantium, in the field of art, letters, law, and administration, during the dissolution of the Roman Empire. Whether it was Byzantium which tried to dominate the pope in Rome or, on the contrary, the pope of Rome who accorded his protection to the refugees from Byzantium, the results were the same: the pontifical establishment, already affected by the palace of Augustus, submitted to new influences, quite visible in this instance, of splendour, pomp, and organization which had constituted the glory of the court of *Basileus*.

All the important "domestics" of the imperial palace of Constantinople, with their numerous functions, the chamberlain, the cup-bearer, the grand equerry, the master of the wardrobe, were soon found, unchanged, among the high personnel of the apostolic palace. The same functions were performed in the one court as in the other. The pontifical professions clearly betray the relationship between the ceremonials of the emperors of Byzantium and the popes in Rome. Where did the pope get the triumphal chair, the *sedes gestatoria*, on which he is borne slowly, majestically, above the heads of the multitude? From Byzantium, where the *Basileus* originated the procession. And where did the popes get these magnificent plumed fans, the *flabelli*? Whence comes the bearer of the strands of tow and the torch with which he burns them while saying to the pope, "*Sic transit gloria mundi*". Always from Constantinople, where the triumphal processions of generals were solemnized with such ceremonies. Moreover it was

from the pomp of the Orient that the idea of symbols, figures, images, was taken for expressing terrestrial majesty and translating the divine spirit.

A double distinction, vertical and horizontal, permits one to classify roughly the interminable list of personages constituting the court of the sovereign pontiff. Vertically, laymen and clerics. Horizontally, paid services and honorary. At the head of the court are two cardinals, the cardinal secretary of state and the cardinal datary. The palatine prelates, who come next, recall by their titles the grand officers of the Byzantine palace. First of all is the major-domo, or prefect of the secret palace, a powerful person who rules the interior of the Vatican. Next is the chamberlain, *præfectus cubiculi secreti pontificis*, one of whose chief tasks is the regulation of audiences.

The *auditor sanctissimi domini nostri papæ* and the *magister sancti palatii apostolici* are the two prelates who complete the present palatine college. The former has charge of the daily programme of the consistories and the latter is the head of the Roman publishing department, his *imprimatur* being necessary for everything published in the Vatican. (Sometimes, however, the *imprimatur* of the master of the sacred apostolic palace counts for nothing, as witness Monsignor Duchesne's book, *L'Histoire ancienne de l'Église* placed on the Index despite the approval of the most reverend Father Lepidi.)

There follow the privy chamberlains, of whom the most important is the privy almoner, who has charge of the charities of the Holy See.

Monsignor Zampini, the pope's vicar, or prefect of the apostolic sacristy, has, through the Lateran Pact, become a sort of "delegated bishop" of the City of the Vatican; he now exercises the functions of a "vicar-general of his holiness for the State and City of the Vatican." Despite the fact that the pope himself is the bishop of Rome and already has a cardinal vicar, who, like the

pope, has charge of the episcopal functions, he has chosen a vicar for this territory who is in fact its bishop also.

The service of the papal court also requires the aid of laymen. The chamberlains of the cloak and the sword perform this function. The world knows them by their uniforms of velours, the ruff, the flat cap, and the little cloak, all in satin or black velvet, except the ruff, "which resembles an aureole" with its white plaits. Their palatine name derives from costumes—*cubicularii intimi ab ense et lacerna*.

The lay chamberlains, like the ecclesiastical chamberlains, are arranged in a hierarchy. At the head is the *magister sancti hospitii* or master of the holy almshouse. The chamberlains are divided into three classes, *participants*, *di numero*, and *supernumerary*. The first are the four officers of the palace; the second consists of ten persons who aid them, and the third class consists of distinguished communicants of all nations to whom the Holy See has conferred the title of chamberlain as recompense for services to the Church. Those who are able, come to the Vatican to serve the pope for a week, then depart for their homes, in the Ukraine or in Wisconsin or in Africa, with the medal of the pontificate which commemorates four important events of the year gone by and which will remain a souvenir for them forever of their eight days in Rome in the very heart of Catholicism.

In recent years the number of chamberlains of the cape and sword has considerably increased. Usually it is the bishop (who alone can make the request) who asks this distinction for the laymen he wishes to recompense and who in turn will bring distinction to his diocese. Nowadays the Belgians and North Frenchmen are in the majority. Industrialists, merchants, lawyers are quite numerous, and many members of the aristocracy; sometimes whole families are represented, as the Counts von Spee, three in number, and the Counts von Droste zu Vischering, who are five.

One more important dignitary crowns this review of the pontifical family—the perpetual marshal of the Holy Church, who,



*sede vacante*, exercises the functions of marshal of the conclave. This honour belongs to the very noble Chigi family who sign themselves in Latin *N . . . princeps Chisius S. R. E. mareschallus perpetuus*. Today the holder of the title is Prince Don Louis Chigi Albani della Rovera, whose father, Prince Don Mario, was marshal for three conclaves, those of Pius X, Benedict XV, and Pius XI. It would be unseemly to wish Prince Don Louis to see as many as his father.

Of the pontifical family, those who are collaborators in the ceremonies and the audiences are the major-domo, the master chamberlain, the almoner, the sacristan of the chamberlains. Adding to them the domestic prelates and the heads of the pontifical guards, the ensemble constitutes the *camera secreta sanctissimi domini nostri papæ* or the "secret noble antechamber."

It is now time to see this clustering organization of Roman pomp, this pontifical "chapel" where each one knows his place, in action. Let us then watch the prodigious procession which slowly and in impeccable order descends the *scala regia* before entering Saint Peter's. It will take an hour before it is ended, when the sovereign pontiff appears in glory on the *sedia gestatoria* in the shadow of the heavily plumed *flabelli*.

First comes the Sacred College, each cardinal either in purple or in grey moiré or in white moiré or in black moiré, depending on the religious order to which he belongs. The most eminent cardinals, surrounded by their courts, are ranked in three orders, bishops, priests, and canons, and according to their respective precedence. Two of them stand apart; they are the palatine cardinals who are members of a new college, the *assistenti al soglio*, assistants to the throne. This college includes all the patriarchs, Latin or Oriental rite, not forgetting the two patriarchs of the West Indies and the East Indies whose purely nominal titles recall the Iberian splendour of the days of the great discoveries.

There next follow a hundred and fifty archbishops and bishops, given this honour by the sovereign pontiff as a sign of special favour, and one bishop, the Bishop of Valence, France, who, dis-

tinguished as his personal claims may be, owes his presence in this illustrious college to the chair which he occupies and which has obtained this right in perpetuity because of an important service to the papacy.

Following the ecclesiastic assistants to the throne come two laymen of the same college, separated from the former only by a vice-camerlingo of the Holy See. These are the highest lay honours which are now given. Their names are those of the highest Roman aristocracy; they are always a Colonna and an Orsini, just as the marshal is always a Chigi. These two princes are at the present moment his excellency Don Dominic Orsini and his excellency Marc-Antonio Colonna.

Four prelates follow the assistants to the throne. Their dignity is the highest in the Church next to cardinals. In a manner of speaking they are candidate cardinals and their place is in front of the great majority of archbishops and bishops who are not members of the college *al soglio*. They are the vice-camerlingo of the Holy Church, the auditor-general, the treasurer of the apostolic chamber, and the major-domo of his holiness.

The largest group in the procession is composed of the archbishops and bishops of the Church, each one wearing the high mitre of the Renaissance in white silk with embossing which evokes the councils of the ancient engravings.

Now come various protonotaries, the master of the chapel, the auditor, the commander of the Holy Spirit, and the regent of the chancellery. And after them the long defile of the religious orders, in brown, grey, black, and white, a picturesque diversity of costumes and of faces, of callings and of historic traditions. They are followed by several persons who dispense the justice of the pontifical sovereign—Roman magistrates, the auditor of the Rota, the master of the sacred palace, and others. The officials who have charge of ceremonies and of this procession itself are next in line; then come the great legion of chamberlains, including the numerous foreigners who bear the honorary titles, all dressed in violet.

The honours which the Vatican awards are the Supreme Order

of Christ, the Order of Pius IX, the Order of Saint Gregory the Great, the Order of St. Sylvester, the Order of the Golden Militia, the Order of the Sacred Sepulchre, the Knights of Malta. There are more than a hundred Americans listed in the papal annuals in the past decade as holders of high titles, the most notable being:

Order of Pius IX: James J. Phelan, Brookline, Mass.; J. Wideman MacDonald, Los Angeles; John Reitz, Evansville, Ind.; Walter Fitch, Salt Lake City.

Order of St. Gregory the Great: (commanders) Theodore McManus, Baltimore; E. de Oliveira Lima, Baltimore; W. E. Guyette, Lowell, Mass.; Edward F. Hines and Denis F. Kelly, Chicago; James Butler, Martin J. Conboy, James W. Flanagan, Henry Heide, John J. McGrane, James J. Walsh, New York; Patrick J. Lawler, Patrick McGovern, Daniel J. Murphy, Murpha P. Quinn, and James J. Ryan, Philadelphia; Morris McDonald, Minneapolis; Charles H. Smith, St. Paul; John Bridger, Akron; John J. Bernet, David J. Champion, Anthony Carlin, Thomas K. Maher, Philip Marguaw, Cleveland; Joseph Scott, Los Angeles; David Dell Kieff, Watertown, N. Y.; George Gibson, Salt Lake City; Capt. P. H. Rice, Augusta; Patrick A. Heney, Seattle; John Raskob, Wilmington.

Among the numerous Knights of the Order of St. Gregory the Great: John McCormack, Clarence H. Mackay, and Thomas F. Farrell.

The title of marquis has been awarded to Nicholas F. Brady, Thomas F. Ryan, George McDonald and (Judge) Victor Downing, of New York City; marchesa to Mrs. Brady and Mrs. John R. Morron, of New York City; countess to Miss Georgine Iselin.

As the procession nears its end we see the consistorial advocates, the private chaplains, the procurators of the orders, the preachers and the confessor of the pontifical family. Here again tradition is followed—the apostolic preacher is always a Capucine and the confessor always a Servite.

The five procurators of the sacred palace precede the prelates who assist the pope at the altar; finally, close to the pope, the pontifical chanters and the clerics of the chapel. This small per-

sonnel, if one may employ this term for the personages of the Vatican, completes the pontifical chapel. In many instances the magnificent titles given serve to magnify the rather trivial service rendered. The ushers bear the name "apostolic runners," and among the porters themselves, or rather, the master porters, there is one dignitary who has a title unique in this world—guardian of the tiaras.

One may smile, perhaps, over some of these court solemnities. But they are in all truth small, very small details, because in its ensemble, which is surcharged with picturesqueness, with memories, and with mystic symbols, it is a thing of true and majestic grandeur. When one sees a pontifical procession approach one seems to feel the centuries opening backward, generation after generation, down to the first origins of the Christian Church. One can well understand the enthusiasts who say, "You must not die without having seen it."

## CHAPTER XV

### *The Palatine Administration*

IN THE PRECEDING CHAPTER ON THE VARIOUS ASPECTS OF THE PONTIFICAL court the services and the offices which function in the Vatican have been mentioned; here they will be treated more fully under the generic term palatine administration.

The *vicariate* is of first importance in the religious administration. Under the authority of a prelate there are two priests who are the pastors of the Vatican population. The two latter, a rector and a vice-rector, belong to the same order as their "bishop." The Vatican "parish" has not much to distinguish it from other Catholic parishes. Only the celebration of the *befana*, the joyful January festival where the children are blessed, may be mentioned, and the benediction of the lambs which takes place at the festival of Saint Agnes, when little girls dressed in white and veiled bring baskets in which are newborn lambs, a gift to the pope. The presentation takes place in the library. The wool from the first shearing is used to weave the *pallium*, episcopal symbol of the lost lambs which the good Shepherd carries on his shoulders. (In the Eastern Church the *pallium*, white with black crosses interwoven, has grown so large it covers the head and falls to the ankle; in the Western Church it has grown smaller and barely covers the shoulders, with two "paws" covering the chest and back for a few inches.)

The basilica of Saint Peter and its chapter, contrary to general supposition, form a distinct religious entity, separate from the Vatican, entirely autonomous. The chapter is no small thing; it includes twenty-eight canons in *cappa* and ermine mantles, thirty-three incumbent clergy, twenty-three clerics, fifteen members of the Giulia chapel, and nine friars who form the College of the

Penitentiary. In May, 1930, the office of vicar, previously exercised by Monsignor Zampini, the sacristan, passed over to Monsignor Vicentini, former nuncio, assistant to the throne, Latin patriarch of Antioch, one of the most titled persons in the Vatican. The confessor of the pontifical family (always of the Order of the Servites of Maria) is at the disposition of any member, but each remains free to choose whomever he wishes as his personal confessor. In addition to the doctors of the soul there are the doctors of the body. Although laymen, they too are part of the ecclesiastical service of the pope. Officially they are two, one personal physician to the pope, the other to the rest of the household. The pope also has a consulting physician.

The household services require thirty men, known as *scopatari segreti*, under the direction of the *aiutante di camera*, or *valet de chambre* of the pope, and the *bussolanti*, under a dean in black, who is always to be found in the vast vestibule of the pontifical apartment. The men are dressed in red damask—all that surrounds the pope is red, as we have already pointed out—with short trousers and white collars. They also wear a tight jacket of red silk, without sleeves. These are the men who verify the invitations to an audience, and take your hat and umbrella. During the great ceremonies they also carry the pope in his *sedia* on their shoulders and are then called *sedari*. They are a sturdy, healthy lot; in 1931 four living *bussolanti* had rendered service to Leo XIII (who died in 1903) and two to Pius IX, who died in 1878.

There is also an official, the grand equerry of his holiness, or *præfectus stabuli*; but one no longer sees his better known "collaborator," the popular Rinaldo Iacchini, coachman of Pius IX, who solemnly and for the last time drove the pope through the streets of Rome September 8, 1870. A picturesque figure, with his laced coat, lace neckband, high-booted, a wig on his head, whip in his hand, on a gilded and carved carriage. Twelve days later temporal power was gone, but the carriage was always carefully guarded in the Vatican stables and is still there. Rinaldo Iacchini later drove the pope, very slowly, along the alleys of the Vatican gardens. After Pius IX, he drove Leo XIII, then Pius X,

then Benedict XV, and finally Pius XI—all within the same enclosure. But when one morning after the reconciliation the pope broke the bars of fifty-nine years, it was a chauffeur in a Fiat who took him outside the Vatican. (Motor-cars have been used in the Vatican Sundays only. Pius XI wishing to assure the dominical repose of his staff, gave up the landau which he had used for his promenades. In 1927 the motor-car became his only means of transport. He has, in addition to the Fiat, a Mercedes and a Citroën made in Milan, all gifts, and an American car. The Citroën, with the number S.C.V. 5, has a chair or *tronetto* built within. At times the pope has also had other automobiles presented by Americans.)

In the apostolic library of the Holy Church more than anywhere else, can be seen the great traditions of humanism and of science which honour the papacy. Pius XI, after giving the Vatican six years of his life, has strengthened these traditions. In the midst of the gravest matters which agitate the entire world the pope cares for and watches over his favourite lovingly; the Vatican annuals list a prefect and a sub-prefect, whose names are given, but the real head of the library, its friend and its father, is Monsignor Ratti, known otherwise as Pius XI, whose name will remain in the heart of the library *in æternum*.

For various confidential missions the pope has as assistant, a French writer, Monsignor Tisserant, an authority in Oriental languages. During the war, when the pope was librarian, he used to refer to Monsignor Tisserant, who was mobilized, as his military *attaché* (*ecco il mio addetto militare*). More recently the pope sent Monsignor Tisserant to America to study the American library system, judged throughout the world to be the best. On his return he was able to assure the pope that the material and technical reorganization of the Vatican library would be Americanized and perfected. In 1931 the pope created Monsignor Tisserant pro-prefect; he has the duties of prefect, the latter title held *sine re* by Monsignor Mercati. It is interesting to note that for two

years Monsignor Ratti held this same title while Father Ehrle had the title of prefect of the library.

Upon Monsignor Tisserant's recommendation, the pope decided to confide the installation of new stacks, all made of steel, two yards high and electrically lit, expensive but perfect, to American experts. The furniture was manufactured by a New Jersey company. The catalogue is being formed by cards of the Library of Congress, worked out almost entirely according to the American Library Association code. In February, 1928, William W. Bishop, former director of the reading-room of the Library of Congress, Charles Martel of the Library of Congress, James C. M. Hanson, librarian of the University of Chicago, and William M. Randall of the Kennedy School of Missions Library, came to Rome to aid in the new work. Prefect Monsignor Mercati also accepted an offer of the Carnegie Foundation to cooperate.

In many respects the Vatican is the greatest library in the world. Its collection of ancient manuscripts, incunabula, and old books is without equal, yet it has never stopped to accumulate works which would be of service to most modern students.

The library dates from the first Christian centuries. In the first hours of the Church the popes and canonists saw the necessity of records, of administrative precedents, of the councils of the fathers, the exegesis of the sacred texts. Unfortunately, we possess but a small part of this first pontifical library. Only the collections posterior to the eighth century have been able to pass without damage through the Great Schism and the Avignon papacy to our own time. Martin V had the honour of reorganizing the library, after regaining many manuscripts which were either at Avignon or with the anti-popes; and Nicholas V, who collected 860 manuscripts during his pontificate, a large number for its time, well merits the title of founder of the Vatican library as we know it today.

The manuscripts were a guarded treasure. Sixtus IV, the energetic Pope della Rovere, not only brought the number up to 3,700, but installed them in the palace of Nicholas V and opened the library to students. The number of manuscripts increased so rap-



idly that the pope in 1587 ordered Fontana to build a new home, which would traverse the court of the Belvedere. This was done within two years. But the Vatican in modern times also continued to overflow, and Leo XIII, later Pius X, then Pius XI, have made use of numerous rooms in the wings built by Sixtus V.

In the course of years the manuscript collection of Martin V has been increased by donations and several purchases of entire libraries: the Palatine of Heidelberg, the Urbanite, that of Christina of Sweden, that of Pius II, the Ottoboniana, the Borghesiana, the Barberiniana, the Borgiana, and the latest, the Chigiana of the Princes Chigi. The total is 50,000 manuscripts, mostly Latin, but some Greek and Semitic and Slav (without including the archives attached to the Sistine Chapel, the Pantheon, etc.), more than 6,000 incunabula, and 350,000 prints and engravings. There was a time when the Vatican library was said to own a copy of every printed book of the world. Unfortunately, this treasure was destroyed by the Constable Charles de Bourbon when he sacked Rome.

Among the priceless manuscripts which can be seen today is the *Republica* of Cicero, probably the oldest Latin manuscript known. It was found in the form of a palimpsest. Henry VIII's letters to Anne Boleyn and a dedicated copy of his pamphlet, "In Defense of the Sacraments," which attacked Luther, are curiously interesting. Of the letters, Maximilian Mission says they are probably genuine, "for the handwriting is not fair. I read two or three of them in French and as many in English. They are love letters, full of 'Dear Heart,' 'Cruel absence,' and such expressions, but without many of what we call wit. . . ." Of the pamphlet, for which Leo X in 1521 named Henry *Fidei Defensor*, a title which George V still uses, Montaigne wrote in his time: "The king claims indulgence for the many literary shortcomings on the score of his military occupations, but the style is good scholastic Latin."

The *Codex vaticanus*, a Bible of the early part of the fourth century, contains the oldest of the Septuagint versions of the Scriptures. The famous *Virgil of the Vatican*, dating from the fourth century, with fifty-nine miniatures; a Terence of the same

century and one of the ninth; a Dante with miniatures by Giulio Clovio; a Dante manuscript in the handwriting of his admirer, Boccaccio; several manuscripts of Martin Luther; a palimpsest of Livy, book IX; autographs of Petrarch, Tasso, and Henry VIII; a magnificent Bible with miniatures by Pinturicchio; autograph and miniatures by Michelangelo and autographs of Thomas Aquinas—are among the noteworthy contents of the library. Curiosities are also housed. A letter from the Emperor of Burma addressed to Pius IX is kept because it is enclosed in an elephant's tooth.

The most precious manuscripts are kept in the large hall, the hall of honour, which with its arches and frescoes constitutes the original library of Sixtus V. Today it has the appearance of a museum rather than a library. Besides the numerous cases in which manuscripts are exposed there are many *objets d'art* of pure ornament, such as the Sèvres candelabra given Pius VII by Napoleon, a vase offered to Leo XIII by President Carnot of France, the baptismal font of the prince imperial, a present of Napoleon III to the godfather, Pope Pius IX. Alas! the "little prince," who fell into an ambush of the Zulu assegais, never had had any good luck; the godfather, in his coffin, just escaped being thrown into the Tiber by a screaming mob; and as for the frail baptismal porcelain the historic ceiling of Sixtus V crashed down on it and destroyed it on the 22nd of December, 1931.

The repercussions of this accident were heard throughout the world. Almost no precious manuscripts were damaged, but one person, Dr. Vatazzo, was killed. Vatican authorities were aroused by the danger; architects were summoned to examine all of the old constructions of Fontana, to see if they offered enough resistance for the weight of the added tons of volumes. The result was the modernization of the library.

For the last forty years, thanks to the new blood that has been infused into the veins of this library, it has developed remarkably. The last three prefects were men known to the scientific world—Ehrle, Ratti, Mercati. The library's writers, or *scrittori*, otherwise librarians, are a select body whose personal efforts are balanced only

by the services which they render to the students in the library. It also contains various "museums," the museum of Christian antiquities, the "profane" museum, the numismatic cabinet at the head of which, during Monsignor Ratti's time, was M. Serafini, future governor of the city. There is also a papyrus cabinet and two rooms where messages sent by the popes are kept.

Least known, perhaps, is the laboratory where the kindly alchemist known as the chief restorer of the *Codices* presides. Here in shadow and mystery the manuscripts, fatigued by the centuries, emaciated and half dead, come to regain the youthfulness of their early years. The idea was Father Ehrle's. He was struck and distressed by the sight of many of the most beautiful manuscripts disappearing slowly under the moisture and humidity which persist despite the dry sky of Rome. He sought a remedy and found it. A wise coating of gelatin and formalin is now used to cure the sick *Codices* and, moreover, preserve them for the rest of their days, which are unlimited.

The magnificent success of the manuscript hospital of the Vatican has interested the entire world, which now sends its sick ones there. John Pierpont Morgan sent the fifty-six Coptic manuscripts which some Arabs unearthed. The task was worthy of a millionaire because the fragments dated back to the tenth century. The sands of Upper Egypt and the years had ravaged these venerable ancestors. For ten years the Vatican hospital worked on them—but now the fifty-six can fearlessly defy the ensuing centuries. The Vatican, with Mr. Morgan's permission, made perfect photographic reproductions for the use of its own scholars.

The archives of the Holy See, rather than proper books, made up the beginning of the Vatican library. For a long time they remained locked against public curiosity and, it may be said, the suspicions of certain persons who demanded, not without malice, that the 4,874 thick volumes of the Popes of the Middle Ages and certain Popes of the Renaissance, be opened. . . . Then one day Leo XIII with a simple phrase opened the great archives . . . "The Church," he said, "needs nothing but Truth." The searchers

entered . . . They found history, much history, history at times violent, at times tormented, but always impressive.

The Vatican archives are divided into three sections: the archives of state analogous to those of a state department, which are kept at the offices of the papal secretary of state and which may be consulted with his permission (with the exception, of course, of documents pertaining to matters under negotiation), the historic archives, a collection of innumerable pontifical collections, and the Avignon archives, only 346 volumes, but the most beautiful.

The museums as well as the library and the observatory attest to the humanist tradition of the popes. Those of the Renaissance, lovers of art, were the principal founders, but the later popes of the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries and even the twentieth, gave their effort and money to enrich the collections. Even in the thin times of the beginning of the nineteenth century Pius VII established a new museum, the Chiaramonti.

In describing the library we have already mentioned the various pontifical museums, the sacred, the profane museums, and the coin collection. All of these come under the administration of the director of the "profane" museum, Dr. Barthelemy Nogara (who, however, is not to be confused with another member of the family serving the pope, Bernardin Nogara, the treasurer of the Vatican). Dr. Nogara has a half-dozen specialists, among them a director of artistic painting, a director of sculpture, of archæology, of the Etruscan museum, and of the Christian museum of the Lateran, an administrator of the museums of the Lateran, and a scientific director of the museums of missions at the Lateran.

The museums of the Vatican are entered through the famous hall, the hall of the Greek Cross, so called because of its shape. The two crouching sphinxes, the mosaic Minerva, the large and high porphyry sarcophagi of Saint Constant and Saint Helena, are the treasures of this room. They may appear small compared with the riches of the neighbouring Round Hall, where there are the incomparable mosaics of antiquity depicting the divinities of the sea, the celebrated porphyry cup cut from a single block and

measuring forty feet in circumference, and the eight statues among which the famous Hercules in gilded bronze is four yards high.

Via the hall of the museum and the gallery of the gods and goddesses, we reach the court of the Belvedere, relic of the Belvedere gardens where the popes of the Renaissance peopled the woods and lawns with statues for public admiration. At the angles of this famous court four loggias, like so many precious jewel-boxes, open to display the Perseus, the Mercury, the Laocoön, and the most celebrated of all, the Apollo Belvedere.

We must mention again the Chiaramonti museum founded by Pius VII after the deliverance of 1814, which contains only antique statues, and the hall of the new wing (*braccio nuovo*), parallel with the library, of like contents, but still more precious. Should we not also justify the description of Taine, who found the Vatican museums "the greatest treasure of antique sculpture which exists in the world."

The lapidary gallery, which we now reach, contains a large epigraphic collection, more than 3,000 inscriptions from the time of the Roman Republic to the fall of the Empire. The Egyptian and Etruscan museums are recent, both founded by Gregory XVI. The first was opened by an Italian savant, the Barnabite Father Ungarelli, who worked under the direction of Champollion; the second has been augmented with all the discoveries in Tuscany since 1828, and Pius XI has undertaken to classify the collections scientifically. Both these museums are in the rear of the court of the Pigna.

The new Pinacothek, founded by Pius X and transported by Pius XI to the proximity of the shaft of Saint Patrick, contains an ensemble, with primitives from Bologna and Tuscany, the famous fresco of Melozzo da Forlì on which one can see Sixtus IV appointing the humanist Platina as librarian, the Madonna of Angelico, and three magnificent pieces: the Madonna of Foligno, the Coronation of the Virgin, and the beautiful Transfiguration. Titian, Paul Veronese, Poussin, Murillo are also represented.

Pius XI, from the first days of his reign, has taken measures to

preserve the treasures of the Holy See. He has created a workshop for the care and restoration of works of art which has already rendered eminent services, notably the delicate restoration of the Chapel of Saint Pius V, whose dome was almost lost, and the chapel of Nicholas V, where the frescoes of Angelico were restored to all their beauty.

The Lateran missionary museum is the latest papal addition to the scientific domain. It was created during the extraordinary success of the universal missionary exposition of the Holy Year 1925. Pius XI was reluctant to see the rare and precious contents dispersed and perhaps lost. These souvenirs of the vast effort for evangelizing the world, dating from the earliest times to the present, have been made into a museum whose director is Father Wilhelm Schmidt, professor of the University of Vienna, noted ethnologist. To keep the museum not only alive but important, Father Schmidt invites the missionaries who visit Rome to see "their" country in the museum. Here they find what the Church has been able to collect and are inspired, on their return, to send more ancient, more typically indigenous, more representative things from the savage lands.

One of the very newest enterprises of the Vatican is its printing establishment. It is lodged not far from Saint Anna and supplies the missionaries of the Propaganda with printed matter in all languages, especially the Catechism and the Gospels. The *Tipografia Polyglotte Vaticane* is therefore in this respect the equal of the American Bible Society and similar publishers in other lands. Among the books which the Polyglotte prints, the most celebrated is the Index, but the most important is the *Acta Apostolicae Sedis*, or the *Records of the Holy See*, which is the official journal of the Vatican. It appears each month in an octavo bundle, quite thick, written in Latin and in Italian, containing nominations, records of congregations and tribunals, and for human interest the complete judgments of the Sacred Rota in cases of

nullity of marriage. Since the Reconciliation, the *Acta* contains a supplement of Vatican State legislation.

To the Vatican must also be given the credit of publishing the one and only free, independent, and truthful newspaper in Italy. The *Osservatore Romano*, the semi-official organ of the pope, now has a circulation of 60,000 daily, compared to its usual 20,000 in the years before 1926 when Mussolini suppressed the liberty of the press and made even the *Corriere della Sera*, the great newspaper of Italy, into a Fascist propaganda sheet, receiving orders daily as to what news to suppress and what to emphasize, from the head of the Fascist militia, the Home Office, and Mussolini himself. Today even the trains coming across the French border are searched by Blackshirts and every possible publication confiscated, so that the people of Italy may never learn what the outside world thinks of Fascism and their great Duce. Outside of several aeroplane raids over Milan and one over Rome, financed by Italian patriots living in France, Switzerland, and Austria, Italy has never been able to see any printed matter outside of Fascist propaganda, except the news contained in the *Osservatore Romano*.

This newspaper being, as has just been said, the only free, independent, and truthful one in the country, has, however, to trim its sails frequently, because the Fascist Government has not hesitated to use strong-arm methods against it. On numerous occasions it has been seized throughout Rome, or bought up, or burned. On the occasion of the pope's encyclical against Fascist terrorism in 1931, for instance, when the pope himself had first to smuggle the document into France for world-wide publication, the *Osservatore Romano* was confiscated in Rome and Italians kept ignorant of the papal strictures. But at times when the Vatican and the Fascist government are not at loggerheads, *Osservatore* does not go far out of its way to publish world news which is being suppressed daily throughout Italy, for the purpose of offending the Duce.

Catholic press history dates from the birth of the *Osservatore* in 1860, although there were a few other publications in the pre-

ceding years, an official journal of the papacy, and the Papal States newspaper, the *Giornale di Roma*. After 1870 the Vatican scorned the Italian press. To Pius IX and Leo XIII the press symbolized the new liberalism. In 1890 Leo, on his own initiative, purchased the *Osservatore*, which had been an independent Catholic organ, and officially connected it with the Holy See. He appointed J. B. Casoni, a zealous Catholic, its editor. Of this notable event we have Signor Casoni's own statement:

"The pope said to me: 'Everybody has his paper, the Holy See must also have its own. I have called upon you to take the direction of the paper. . . . Be independent of everybody; you are answerable only to me and my secretary of state.' Without indicating in detail the questions and the problems which were preferably to be treated and discussed in a newspaper, he gave me to understand his desire that the arguments chosen should be studied profoundly and treated seriously, that all bitterness of polemic should be avoided, that no notice should be taken of personal attacks, and that nations and governments should be scrupulously respected, especially those which maintained good relations with the Holy See."

From the first Casoni realized that he would not be seeing the pope frequently but that numerous intermediaries would try to influence him in running the *Osservatore*. "I sought to introduce more variety into the paper. But for questions of home or international policy the liberty allowed me was exceedingly limited, especially in view of the amount of consideration to be observed towards governments in friendly intercourse with the Holy See, when they deserved the severest censure. That is why it was so difficult to write in the *Osservatore Romano*. There was every liberty to criticize and fight all the actions of the Italian government, but one had to put on one's gloves in discussing other governments, even when they made mistakes which it would have been reasonable to criticize and denounce."

During the Boer War, for instance, Lord Granville points out, the *Osservatore* published a series of articles which offended Britain greatly and which resulted in severe attacks upon the paper. Another attack came from the Jesuits, who wanted it



supplanted as the official organ by their organ, the *Voce della Verità*. The *Osservatore* lost standing gradually, and when the great Leo died a movement was under way to suppress it entirely. But it survived and outlived its rivals. On the 4th of November, 1929, the *Osservatore* was moved into the new printing-plant within the Vatican, so that it became not only directly responsible to the pope but free from the danger of destruction by a Fascist mob.

The *Osservatore* appears every evening except Sunday. In size that of the usual Italian newspapers, it is usually four or six pages of tightly packed items without any headlines more than one column wide. Recently it has begun to publish illustrations of Roman festivities or of the activities of notable Catholics in all countries. In text and picture it gives a concrete idea of the vitality and universality of the Catholic Church.

Since 1930 the Vatican has also been publishing a fortnightly illustrated magazine, the *Illustrazione Vaticana*, which deals exclusively with the Vatican. It publishes documentary articles, present and retrospective, of great interest, and a religious bulletin of the entire world, especially emphasizing Catholic Action. From 1931 editions in English, German, Spanish, and French also have been printed.

In addition to the tribunals of the Holy See there are special tribunals of a purely administrative character more recently established for the purpose of hearing litigations between private persons and the palatine administration.

These are composed of three commissions of prelates constituted by Leo XIII as the result of an employee's complaint against the Vatican. This employee wished to sue the palatine administration, and the case came up before the Italian courts. The pope, anxious that justice be done but no less desirous of having the immunity of his administration respected, conceived the idea of a special jurisdiction. Now all employees or agents of the sacred palace, all functionaries, have at their disposition a means for redress and justice within the Vatican itself.



## CHAPTER XVI

### *The Finances of the Vatican*

OF THE VATICAN'S SECRETS NONE HAS BEEN BETTER KEPT THAN that of its finances. Now that it has become a modern state, one may expect a modern budget, as open to public curiosity as the financial accord made in 1929 with the Italian Government, and an end to centuries of mystery.

History records times flourishing and times penurious, as, for instance, under Leo XIII with a poor few million lire. Today it is known that the finances of the Church are already a hundred times better, but it is always dangerous to speak with certitude because those who occupy themselves with financial affairs are really men of trust, silent as the tombs in Saint Peter's.

There is still no trace of a budget, nor are there receipts for expenses or written orders or contracts for this or that outlay. To the ordered mind of the modern business man, Vatican finances would indicate disorder. But here disorder is historically in order. Between temporal attributes and spiritual attributes, between the administrative service of the sovereign pontiff and that of chief of the states of the Church, confusion established itself rapidly, and the affair of indulgences, for example, giving encouragement to Luther to declare himself a reformer, illustrates a situation quite unfavourable for good finance.

The disappearance of temporal power (in 1870) produced almost no change. The temporal budget of the pope disappeared, but the habits of absolute monarchy and of unlimited power remained in their entirety. The consequences were most notable on two occasions. The first when Leo XIII permitted himself to engage in the unfortunate work of constructing new dwellings in Rome, an enterprise which did not even enrich the Blumen-

stihl family but which brought the great pope into a grave financial crisis at the close of his life. The other instance was the management, or rather almost lack of financial management, of Pope Benedict XV, which, however, showed him to be the great charitable lord rather than the economic and prudent bourgeois; he had placed excessive confidence in certain familiars who, it was said, played him a bad turn. Fortunately, at the time of his death, the cardinal camerlingo was given a little unembellished box, the contents of which would pay the expenses of a conclave. The box contained a large cheque sent by an American. It was veritably a windfall. And it is to be noted in both cases that the Sacred College showed its clear reaction by electing two successors who understood the value of money, one, Pius X, who with the utmost simplicity reorganized the Vatican, and the other, Pius XI, who, having noticed that the chicken for lunch left no remnants for dinner, discharged the royal household which had reigned in the Vatican for centuries, enthroning in its place his mother's cook, Signora Linda, and five brave religious who undertook the services of *valets de chambre*.

The Vatican's income is composed of two elements, ordinary and extraordinary. The most important under the heading ordinary are Peter's Pence, a sort of voluntary tax, very unequal, imposed on Catholic countries since 1870 to replace the wealth of the domains confiscated at that date by the Italian Government.

Of the financial situation just before this date we have a reliable report in the *Annales ecclésiastiques*, published by J. Chantrel and Father Chamard, of which the following extracts are the most impressive:

Before the annexations which took from the Papal States their most rich and populous provinces, the pontifical treasury was in a prosperous situation. By prodigious order and economy there was brought about not only a balance between receipts and expenditures, but additionally a balance of more than 40,000,000 of the paper money created by the Republic of 1848.

The revolution came, and in one instant it destroyed this equi-

librium. Afterwards it was necessary, with resources diminished two-thirds, to repair the disasters which always bring in their train similar disturbances and to face the crushing burdens.

The Garibaldian invasion but added to these troubles.

Despite everything, thanks to divine protection, thanks to Catholic charity, the Holy See has not failed in any of its engagements and it has traversed with honour these redoubtable crises.

But the trial is not over. Without doubt, from a financial point of view, the intervention of France in the settlement of the pontifical debts has diminished the annual charges, but it should not be forgotten that even after the settlement, the papal treasury still has to pay out in interest, 21,337,710 francs. If to this sum is added the ensemble of expenses calculated for 1869 at 39,242,426 francs, the total sum arrived at passes 60,000,000.

But the ordinary resources of the sovereign pontiff cannot support more than half this sum. Therefor 30,000,000 is the amount which the faithful must supply.

At the turn of the century it was estimated that £800,000 a year was necessary to support the Vatican. The institution of Peter's Pence proved a great success. The origin of this tax is mediæval; in England it was suppressed by Queen Elizabeth in 1559, and revived just three centuries later. In his public appeal announcing the new Peter's Pence, Cardinal Vaughan frankly discloses the financial situation of the Church:

The financial condition of the Holy See from the date of the return of the pope from Gaeta to the year 1859 has become each year more satisfactory. . . . But in the month of september, 1859, Pius IX was despoiled of two-thirds of his states. The Romagna, or fifteen provinces, were invaded and annexed to Piedmont. By this act the revenue of the Holy See, which had been 54,000,000 francs or £2,100,000 (approximately), was reduced to 28,000,000 francs. This might still have sufficed both for the administration of the five remaining provinces and for the government, but for the debt.

The debt amounted to 24,000,000 francs a year. It had been contracted on behalf of all the provinces making up the Papal States. To the fifteen provinces annexed by Piedmont belonged 18,000,000 to 19,000,000 of the interest to be paid, as their fair proportion. The rob-

ber, however, refused to take over the burdens with the stolen provinces. . . .

Within six weeks of the occupation of the Romagna by the Piedmontese a cry for Peter's Pence had arisen in England . . . exactly three centuries after its suppression by Elizabeth. . . .

The sum total in Peter's Pence paid into the apostolic chamber from the end of 1859 to the end of 1865 was 45,600,000 francs, or £1,820,000, being at the rate of £300,000 a year. Nearly the whole of this sum was, we know from the note of M. de Corcelle, the French ambassador in Rome, employed in payment of the debt and in meeting the deficit created in the papal treasury by the Piedmontese invasion. Considerable sums continued to be collected and laid at the feet of Pius X up to the last year of his reign. . . . On the accession of our Holy Father, Pope Leo XIII, fabulous reports were circulated as to the wealth accumulated in Peter's Pence. This was done by enemies of the Church to deceive the people and dry up the stream of their loving gifts. But the fact is that the small sum which had been invested has again and again been diminished during the last two years in order to meet the absolute necessities of the Holy See.

But, you may perhaps inquire, "What are the actual necessities of the Holy See?"

The actual necessities of the Holy See are the actual requirements of Christendom. It is therefore for Christendom to meet them.

. . . The actual income of the Holy See, derivable from permanent and settled sources, is said to have been reduced by spoliation to £60,000. . . . Finally, as to the personal expenses of the Holy Father, they form a sum so insignificant as to be absolutely inappreciable in the general expenditure. Personally sparing and truly mortified, his habits are those of a tertiary of the poor and humble St. Francis.

Coming now to the income actually required, it has been estimated that the smallest sum that will suffice for the Holy See and the central government of the Church is about £350,000. It is said that all told about 5,000 persons, including old *impiegati*, are dependent upon the Holy See. The sum we have mentioned, if divided equally, would not afford to each of these the wages of a common English mechanic, while leaving nothing for the pope's privy purse, for household expenses, for diplomatic expenses, for fabrics, for libraries, for offices, for printing and stationery, and for other inevitable incidental charges. . . . No government in the world conducts so large and widespread a

business on so small an expenditure as the government of the Holy Catholic Church.

First among nations which support the Catholic Church is the United States of America; likewise its contribution of Peter's Pence has been the largest by far, followed by Canada, the republics of South America and Spain. Recent economic conditions in South America and the revolutions in Mexico and Spain, have, of course, diminished these revenues, but they still lead the great Catholic countries of Europe, where Belgium and France are notable contributors.

Between the date of the destruction of the Papal States and restoration of the City of the Vatican, the United States has become not only the sustainer, but also the banker, of the new nation. The last loan the Papal States floated was in July, 1870; 200,000 scudi from the House of Rothschild. In 1919 Monsignor Cerretti made a trip to America for the reported purpose of floating a loan of a million, but this did not eventuate. It proved unnecessary, for in the same year the pilgrimage of the Knights of Columbus brought a gift estimated at a quarter of a million dollars. In 1928, through Cardinal Mundelein, a Vatican loan of £300,000 5 per cent sinking-fund twenty-year bonds was floated, backed by Church property worth many millions in Chicago.

The more regular income of the Vatican has been from direct taxation, that is to say, from fees of all sorts attached to various functions: chancellery, datary's office, marriages, advowson's-gift, court judgments, titles of nobility, orders of knighthood, prelacies, etc. The sale of stamped paper, established by Benedict XIV in 1741 to replace the customs house tax which weighed so heavily upon the middle and lower classes, has never ceased to bring in some revenue.

The extraordinary income of the Vatican is more difficult to evaluate because its source is irregular and unknown. It includes gifts and legacies which sometimes reach imposing figures, the grandeur of many millions. There are also the gifts which accompany pilgrimages, when each American may be expected to donate

at least a dollar, each Frenchman ten francs, etc. Some of these pilgrimages include one or two thousand men and women, and each brings a purse. However, these gifts are little compared to the costs of canonizations, when the ceremonies and the decoration of St. Peter's require an expenditure of hundreds of thousands of lire.

Finally, the three domains of Assisi, Loreto, and Padua bring, in the form of a land tax, an important contribution to the budget of the Holy See. There is also a percentage on the offerings received at the two shrines, Lourdes and Lisieux.

The expenses of the Holy See are extremely varied. They allow for the maintenance or the construction of a seminary as well as for alms to a devastated church or an indigent mission. They include, also, needless to say, the expenses of the numerous and stately but on the whole poorly paid personnel of the Vatican, and one can cite without pride a prelate who, in order to increase his worldly goods, secures at the same time a commercial representation. As for the foreign diplomatic representatives of the Holy See, the papal nuncios, their expenses are assured, almost always, by certain local gifts, such as the offerings made on the occasion of such or such a marriage celebrated in the chapel of the Nunciature.

The popes are in general very generous. Benedict XV was so to excess. Pius XI, so mindful for the good order of the treasury, knows, however, how to give liberally. The day after his succession he handed over five hundred thousand lire to the German cardinals for their compatriot victims of the sinking mark. Some time after, he deposited a cheque for a million in the coffers of the Sanatorium for French Clergy at Thorenc. In 1922 the pope led the list of subscriptions for Russia by giving 2,500,000 lire. In the same year he gave 150,000 lire for the poor of Rome, 50,000 to the Institute Perretti, 200,000 to the Catholic Institute at Cologne, and 800,000 to the victims of the Smyrna disaster. In 1923, among his contributions were 1,300,000 lire to the starving Germans, 350,000 to the Viennese and £4,000 for Japanese victims.

The Pio-Latino-Americano Seminary was endowed with 6,000,000 lire for its foundation, after a royal endowment made by a Mexican woman.

Today, the chaplain of the pope has the title of *monsignor elemosiniere segreto*. He has his offices in one of the most charming corners of the Vatican, at the end of a small ochre court, across from the Swiss Canteen. The sums that are distributed by him (but there are others that do not pass through his hands) amount to five or six million lire a year; other advances of funds are carried out by a person still more important, who is the administrator of the property of the Holy See—at the present moment he is Monsignor Dominique Mariani. Monsignor Mariani is secretary of the cardinals' committee for the management of the Holy See property, and he adds to this important charge that of administrator of the holy palace, and of vice-president of the bursary of ecclesiastic *dicasteres*. Every Thursday he has his usual audience with the pope, and all the expenses to the last detail that the Holy See meets are decided upon with him.

Monsignor Mariani, who has under his direction about twenty employees, has the so-called funds of the Vatican at his command, part of which are deposited in the Rothschild Bank and part in the Swiss National Bank of Basle.

The absence of public and regular bookkeeping at the Vatican has caused for a long time remarks and occasionally protestations from foreign cardinals, and especially from American cardinals. This in particular is explained by the fact that the Catholics of the United States promised, at least morally, to furnish the pope with all the funds that he needed. Clearly, the periods of economic crisis must be excepted, because there is no way of doing the impossible.

It is always the non-Italian Catholics who in considerable majority assure the budget of the Church and who wish it to become a normal budget, and it is by no means certain that the passive resistance of the cardinals and Italian dignitaries will be forever able to postpone a solution that requires the reason and interest



of the Holy See itself. It has indeed proven true that the faithful give very much more generously when they know the outcome of their presents, than when these have an unknown destination.

Italy exercises a policy on this subject which it perhaps has the right to practise, but which neither corresponds to the common good of the Church nor is proportional to the distinguished services rendered by this country. This policy consists in concentrating in the peninsula all the property of the Holy See and of the organisms that gravitate around it. From the time of the secularization (or *incameramento*) of ecclesiastical property, from 1866 to 1873, a daring disorder had been established between the property of the Church of Italy and the property of the Holy See. Ten years later, in 1884, the property of the Propaganda was converted by sanction into Italian stocks; meanwhile the *fondo per il culto* revealed a singular management, very advantageous for the state which converted the property to its own use, and difficult for the clergy, to whom it caused a *congrua* of famine.

These abuses brought on the necessary reaction to which the name of Cardinal Simeoni was attached. He attempted to organize capital outside of Italy, by trying to establish twenty-three agents of the Propaganda outside the peninsula—eleven in Europe, three in Asia, one in Africa, seven in America, and one in Australia. Unfortunately, the enterprise was not carried out at that time.

A new and important event occurred with the payment of 750,000,000 lire (extremely poor compensation for the confiscation of 1870), which was deposited by the Italian minister, Mosconi, with the minister of finances of the Holy See, Bernardin Nogara, former head of the Italian Dawes Plan commission in Berlin, and personal friend of Mussolini. Mosconi deposited this 750,000,000 lire as a cheque on the Bank of Italy, and this liquid indemnity was immediately invested in Italian state stocks, in French railroads, and in Hungarian railroads.

[It is fitting to add that the Vatican has a special vault, in which certain title-deeds and gold in bullion are deposited.]

From other sources the indemnity brings in equally 1,000,000,000

lire in consolidated funds. During 1929 it was 830,000,000 lire. The Italian state has deposited a total of 1,580,000,000 lire, of which 750,000,000 alone are in negotiable silver.

The principal disadvantage of this deposit is that the Holy See knows itself to be, or is believed to be, pledged to the Italian state, and in reality, although it may not be emotionally, it is so economically, through the formidable stock of Italian securities which it holds. It is no longer possible for the Vatican not to support Italian prosperity and Italian money, without incurring heavy material losses. Three principal enterprises coöperate towards this economic support which the Holy See exerts in its relations to the Italian kingdom. The first consists in building vicarages to the number of 5,000, costing 500,000,000 lire. The second is the reorganization of Italian seminaries. The third consists in the relief to the Italian unemployed. The Holy See has put 8,000 workmen back to work, either at the Vatican for new constructions (the governor's palace cost 6,000,000 lire) or in Rome or at Castel Gandolfo.

In reality, it is now possible to do something with a budget which, in addition to the income from the indemnity of 1929, Peter's Pence, and various collections, reaches today the yearly total of 180,000,000 lire. A figure official or semi-official, because the real figure is infinitely more. Without reaching the financial importance of the budget of certain Protestant denominations, there is surely a billion lire that passes through the Vatican treasury.

But this wealth is dependent on general prosperity, and more particularly on the prosperity of the Italian kingdom. That is the big disadvantage due to the insufficient internationalism of the Holy See at the present time, and that is why it is desirable that an organism equally powerful adopt the technical principles of publicity and of regular administration which are used by all modern governments since the Napoleonic reform.

The reforms of Pius XI began even before the Lateran accords. He had found about £11,000 in the Vatican treasury, and expenses

of about £1,000 a day (which, however, were covered by income), and after reorganizing the household economy he sent for eminent Catholic accountants who made what is generally called the first audit in Church history. In 1928 strict measures were taken, as reported in the *Pontifical Annual* of that year:

His Holiness Pius XI beginning from 1927 has reformed the administration of Vatican finances. The entire administration of the apostolic palace is placed under the control of a commission of cardinals. The gifts of the faithful brought to Rome by the bishops are a sum kept apart, administered by the personal control of the pope, paid by a person of confidence who keeps a book in which are marked all receipts and expenses, and which is balanced at the end of each week. Expenses figure annually about 20,000,000 lire. The bookkeeping is carried out according to the most modern principles and is severely controlled.

Of the Lateran financial accord the pope gave his view a few days after the announcement. Referring to those who said he had asked too much in the financial field, he remarks that "it would be better to speak of the economic field, because it is not a question here of large finances of state, but almost of modest domestic economy. To those who would reply with the remark, if one counts in capital all that has been taken from the Church in Italy, up to the patrimony of Saint Peter, what an immense sum, overwhelming, what a formidable sum one would obtain . . . but too easily one forgets that the indemnity given the Holy See will never suffice to provide even in a small way for its needs, vast as the entire world. . . ."

Today the financial resources of the Vatican are five in number: first, the balance of revenue from the former Papal States, capitalized and bearing regular interest which in 1898 was given out as 3,000,000 lire annually; second, Peter's Pence which in 1860 totalled 1,700,000 lire, increased to 3,000,000 and then to 7,000,000 lire, became less in wartime, but reached 18,000,000 lire in 1924, 21,000,000 in the next year, about 25,000,000 a year after that; third, various collections brought by the bishops; fourth, the afore-

mentioned direct taxation to which must now be added the new income from commerce under the new treaty (which includes postage stamps and coins for collectors. On the 10th of September, 1929, the director of the papal posts reported a profit from collectors of 57,000,000 lire in the few months of operation. The stamps, being dated, required a new issue almost immediately "to the great joy of the collectors and the profit of the treasury"). And fifth, the income from moneys received from the Italian Government.

Almost immediately upon the signature of the new treaties the cardinals received an increase in their honorariums or *piatto cardinalice*, which were formerly 30,000 lire, and now 100,000 (according to the French Catholic organ *La Croix*). Since the war cardinals have also received expense allowances. Generally speaking, the tripling of the honorarium has not made up for the fall in the rate of exchange. The cardinals, prefects, or secretaries of the ecclesiastical congregations in Rome who received an additional allowance of 6,000 lire now receive an additional 25,000. Out of a little over a thousand pounds which a cardinal now has he must pay for his secretary and his retinue, and unless he has a private income he can no longer keep the carriage with two white horses of older days nor a small car and chauffeur of today.

American cardinals, no matter how impoverished in childhood, no matter how humble their early life, are usually supplied with large sums by their parishioners, so that they can live in state, if they so desire, as the princes of the Church did in olden times. The first and last cardinal's carriage was seen in America at the beginning of the century, when a lumbering gorgeous equipage, lacquered in scarlet and gold and lined with crimson satin, with elevated seats for footmen in front and rear, was imported from Italy at a cost of £2,000 for the first American cardinal, Archbishop McCloskey of New York. The contributors included Louis von Hoffman, Mrs. Fred Stevens, Judge J. R. Brady, and General di Cesnola. A special maintenance fund was subscribed also. The cardinal was vastly surprised with his gift, doubted the fitness of

it to American conditions, took one ride in it, to the amazement of the town and the hoots of newsboys, and came home in a cab. Since then ordinary horse carriages and conventional motor-cars have replaced the elegant carriage of state in America and elsewhere.

PART IV  
THE MODERN WORLD

## CHAPTER XVII

### *The Vatican and the Nations at War*

FOR THE CATHOLIC CHURCH THE WORLD WAR WAS PERHAPS A greater crisis than for other Churches, national in character, which could more sententiously proclaim God was on their side. To the Vicar of Christ the war was organized bloodshed unjustified and useless, among Christians, millions of whom, on both sides, were faithful communicants of the Church of Rome. The popes did what they could to prevent war and to end it before the slaughter had reached into the millions and the fate of Christianity itself was at stake.

The fact that the Triple Alliance and the Triple Entente rejected the offers of the Vatican, and each through the inspired press and statements of politicians suggested the Church was on the side of its enemy, is added proof of the pope's claim of neutrality. Frenchmen, for instance, in wartime assured themselves the Vatican had to support Austria-Hungary, one of the greatest pillars of the Catholic Church. Germany, they argued, was also more and more under the influence of the Centrum, while the opposing states, England and Russia, were schismatic. In Hungary, in Bukovina, in Galicia, and in Transylvania the King-Emperor Francis Joseph was defender of the Faith against the Orthodox Slav or Byzantine influences, and in the Balkans he opposed Russia. The Tzar, it was known, would, if victorious, claim Constantinople, Byzantium, the great Church of St. Sophia, and a Russian victory meant the Roman Church would disappear wherever Nicholas advanced.

On the other hand, it was the Kaiser and his Junker advisers who rejected the great peace plan of 1917 because they were certain it was inspired in the Vatican by Allied statesmen and cardinals, and would react to the advantage of their enemies.

Among the curious documents which have come to light in recent years is one known as the Ritter Telegramm, supposedly sent on the 26th of July, 1914, by von Ritter, Bavarian envoy to the Vatican:

*Der Pabst billigt ein scharfes Vorgehen Oesterreichs gegen Serbien. Der Kardinalstaatssekretaer hofft, dass diesmal Oesterreich standhalten wird. Er fragt sich, wann es denn solle Krieg fuehren koennen, wenn es nicht einmal entschlossen waere, mit den Waffen eine auslaendische Bewegung zurueckzuweisen, die die Ermordung des Erzherzogs herbeigefuehrt hat, und die in Ruecksicht auf die gegenwaertige Lage Oesterreichs dessen Fortbestand gefaehrdet. In seiner Erklaerung enthueellt sich die Furcht der roemischen Kurie vor dem Panslawismus.* [The pope agrees to sharp measures against Serbia. . . . In his (the papal secretary of states') declaration is seen the fear of Panslavism of the Roman Curia.]

Whether this telegram is genuine or not is of less importance than the viewpoint the Bavarian diplomat wished to attribute to the Vatican. (It is known that a man named Fechenbach in Munich gave a copy of the telegram to a Swiss journalist, René Payot, and that Fechenbach was tried for treason, and not for theft or forgery, and sentenced to ten years' imprisonment.) If it is true that the Bavarian did send such a message, then it is, in the opinion of Catholic leaders, a forgery of opinion and an action comparable to Bismarck's forgery of the famous telegram of Ems which precipitated the War of 1870.

The facts are that Pius X made every effort to stop the war. He sent his nuncio to his Apostolic Majesty Francis Joseph, but the legate was not received. On August 2nd he asked the world to pray with him for peace. A few days later, when the Austrian ambassador called upon him with the request he bless the Austro-Hungarian army and navy, Pius X refused, saying, "My blessing is not for war but for peace." The war ruined the pope's health. He died, according to the physician's report, of bronchitis, but in the opinion of his entourage, of heartbreak caused by his failure to keep the nations out of war. Among his last words were:



"I am suffering for all those who are dying on the battlefield. . . . It was my duty to prevent the war; I did all I could, but without success." Pius X has been called the first victim of the World War.

In his inaugural encyclical *Ad Beatissimi Apostolorum Principis*, November 1, 1914, the new pope, Benedict XV, made the first of his many steps for a just peace. He enumerated the causes of war as lack of good-will and charity in human relations, distrust of authority and hatred of the ruling class, and the unbridled cupidity for perishable things.

In 1915 Benedict wrote a letter to the German episcopate expressing his regret that German Catholics had condemned their brothers in other nations in speech or writing. To Cardinal Mercier he wrote a letter expressing his sympathy and sorrow for Belgium; in a consistorial allocution he outspokenly condemned outrages in Belgium, and in a letter from Cardinal Gasparri to the Belgian minister it was explained the pope denounced the violation of Belgium's neutrality.

On the 11th of April he granted an interview to the noted American journalist, Karl von Wiegand, in which he urged America to work for peace and pledged the Vatican's aid. He said the world now looked to America to lead, that he had communicated with President Wilson, and concluded by asking Americans to avoid everything which might prolong the war, do everything which would hasten its end.

The Entente nations thought the final words of this message pro-German. An effort was made by certain elements to prove the interview distorted. At this time the Catholic Committee for French Propaganda Abroad published a book, *The German War and Catholicism*, an effort to unite Catholic world opinion against Germany. Cardinal Luçon and Cardinal Amette were the honorary presidents of the committee, its head was Monsignor Baudrillart, rector of the Catholic University of Paris, and nine other bishops and many priests, scholars, politicians and literary men were members. The German cardinals, Archbishop von Hartmann

of Cologne and Archbishop von Bettinger of Munich, telegraphed the Kaiser: "The calumnies flung at the German fatherland and its glorious army in the French book *The German War and Catholicism* have been a shock to us, and it is our heartfelt desire to express to Your Majesty our painful indignation in the name of the entire German episcopate. We shall not fail to make complaint to the supreme pontiff."

In July, 1915, the pope again appealed to all belligerents to make peace.

In 1916 the pope's peace proposals were criticized by the Entente, some of the nations blaming the pope for having kept silent, some for having taken action. The pope protested the sinking of civilian passenger-ships such as the *Lusitania*. In the consistorial allocution in December he denounced the violation of the rights of the Belgian civilians who, deported from Lille, Roubaix, and Tourcoing, were forced to work in German factories and mines (notably those of the great German patriot and profiteer, Hugo Stinnes).

On the first of August, 1917, Benedict XV launched his famous peace plan, containing concrete and practical propositions, most of which later found their way into Wilson's Fourteen Points. The pope proposed seven:

1. Freedom of the seas.
2. Disarmament (gradual reduction).
3. International court of justice (acceptance of the principle of arbitration).
4. Complete restoration of Belgium, guaranteed by Germany, France, and England.
5. Regulation of economic counterclaims; reciprocal surrender of claims for costs and damage of the war.
6. Settlement of frontier disputes, especially Austria-Italy and France-Germany.
7. Settlement of Polish, Serbian, and other frontier claims, taking into account the aspirations of the population and the good of humanity.

This proposal was called a "white peace," a peace without victory, such as President Wilson had in mind when he was still intelligently and unemotionally neutral. It would have saved millions of lives and billions in treasure. Moreover, as can now be seen, it would have saved the world the disastrous Versailles Treaty and its impossible economic conditions which led to the collapse of Germany, stifled the trade of the world, and brought on the great economic débâcle of 1929-1933.

The Central Powers and the Entente and Associated Powers in due time replied to the pope, but the replies were such marvellous works of diplomacy that they ruined the effort for peace. That the Kaiser and the German warmakers were largely responsible for the failure was more recently disclosed by Philipp Scheidemann, one of the *Siebenerausschusses*, or Council of Seven, of the German Reichstag during the war.

Just before the pope took the initiative, Socialists of the world in conference in Stockholm attempted to write a peace plan, but nationalism among internationalists and disavowal by the khaki-clad minds at home led to failure. On July 17th the Papal Nuncio Pacelli came from Munich to Berlin for an interview with the Kaiser. Frankly he told the emperor the Germans had done many things to make the rôle of the pope more difficult, such as, for example, the deportation of Belgian workers; generally he blamed the duplicity and ambiguity of German actions regarding Belgium.

The Kaiser replied he could not permit civilians to remain behind the German front; deportation was always permitted in war time. As for himself, he had always acted the humanitarian.

Pacelli replied that the pope was continually working for peace.

To this feeler the Kaiser protested the pope had never thrown his weight into the scales; why had he not spoken *ex cathedra*, giving orders to the Catholic press, the parties, the 300,000,000 communicants, to work for peace and against un-Christian hatred, to work for friendship among nations instead of misery and bloodshed. The Kaiser thought that if the pope had aroused the Catholic people, rulers would have listened and would not have

been able to deny the popular will. The Germans, however, said the Kaiser, were alone in knowing no hatred; they desired peace, while in Entente nations governments opposed the desire of the people because of fear of what would follow.

The nuncio replied that once the pope undertook to make peace he would not permit its failure, but at the moment he was pessimistic. But how can a man of the Church be a pessimist, the Kaiser demanded. When he, Wilhelm, gave an order for a certain military operation, he could not predict its outcome, and he added:

"The Catholic Church, owing to its international organizations, possesses the best means for propagating thoughts of peace.

"The Social Democracy has rightly recognized the value of such a propaganda and has been the first to have the courage to place it in the service of peace. That will remain forever the reward of Social Democracy. And if one does not consider it dangerous that this credit goes to the Social Democrats alone, then the Catholic Church must seize the opportunity given by the circumstances. It is to the interest of the Catholic Church, I say this as a prince of a nation largely Protestant, to create the possibility to speak of peace rather than let credit go to Social Democracy. If the Pope refuses to act, the world after the peace will drift away from him and he will become no more than many another bishop."

In this manner the Kaiser definitely gave the nuncio to understand that a peace proposal was timely and especially welcome to Germany. But Scheidemann, who had access to all the documents, found that meanwhile on margins of reports of peace feelers from Vienna, the Kaiser was writing the words *Der Hund* and *Der Halunke*.

The warmakers in the Kaiser's entourage, opposed to peace, began bringing pressure on him. July 12th, von Wedel, ambassador in Vienna, had sent reports of peace feelers. The Kaiser's notations indicate he had received from General von Plessen an "anonymous" report stating that "from the middle of the war Vatican circles fear the collapse of the Vatican through an Italian

revolution, following the downfall of England. England is scared to death and is bringing pressure on the Vatican to urge peace in Germany, a sure sign of how critical things are in England. Fortunately, the German government will see how the wind is blowing from England, and what it means." All his men told the Kaiser if England went down Italy would have revolution and the Italian mob would rise against the pope. To Cardinal Pacelli the Kaiser said:

"I do not understand why the pope can be afraid of the *piazza*. Sonnino or the king may be scared of the street, but the pope stands sky-high above the *piazza* and no nation would dare to lead the mob against the pope. The whole Catholic world would surround the holy throne. As for the military defences, the mob could not storm the Vatican walls. There should be some fifteen-centimetre guns put there. The 'black nobility' would also come to aid. And, besides, the Vatican is well provided. It has 30,000 rifles, 25 machine-guns and one million bullets in its warehouse."

Pacelli, thunderstruck by these strange words, stood silent.

July 14th the Kaiser, asked to reply to a handwritten letter from the pope of June 13th, noted on its margin: "Four weeks! Not respectful towards the old pontifex. W." Wilhelm's cynical attitude was clear.

Scheidemann urged an open honest reply regarding the kernel of the question, Belgium. But Secretary of State von Kuehlmann told him that the Roman Curia had been informed, that the Curia did not want an open reply on Belgium, that the pope had been fully informed regarding German intentions in Belgium, and that the pope awaited no other reply on the subject.

On the 1st of August the pope's plan was given to all the rulers of the nations at war. On the 4th, Pacelli telegraphed to Berlin the papal secretary of state had informed him he could come to the capital for further interviews. He received a reply saying not to come, because "conversations were still going on." The next day he again offered his aid in explaining the proposals of the Holy See, but he received no reply until the 8th, and then a request to wait before taking further steps. Pacelli then telegraphed

that it was questionable whether the German answer would be on time, because, according to the press, Entente conferences had begun in London the day before.

Meanwhile Czernin in a speech in Vienna let it be understood that Austria would make no clear commitment regarding Belgium. But the Vatican pressed for a peace conference, which it urged in a telegram on the 15th, saying details would come later. The Germans replied, "Germany is ready to restore the Belgian state under specified governorship, for the security of Germany. . . ." The same day the pope addressed the heads of nations, explaining his plan for the restoration of Belgium. On the 18th in a letter to Ministerial Director von Bergen, Pacelli said the plan would circumvent the Social Democrats.

What was going on behind the scenes? Documents now at hand reveal that on the 22nd Chancellor Michaelis telegraphed von Wedel, in Vienna, that Great Britain's representative had told Cardinal Gasparri he accepts the papal proposal in the spirit given. The chancellor added, "It is my idea to place the opprobrium of the possible collapse of the papal peace intermediation upon our opponents, and to place them in the wrong; I therefore plan to act in a dilatory way regarding the dispatch of a definite answer." To which von Wedel replied, six days later:

"The local Bulgarian minister tells me confidentially he has heard from the Vatican that Kaiser Karl has thanked the pope for the peace offer, but replied he cannot accept the proposal regarding Trient. This reply has disillusioned the Holy See because the refusal sentences the *démarche* to hopeless failure."

Meanwhile, on the 27th the American reply written by Wilson and signed Lansing had been dispatched. "The American people have suffered intolerable wrongs at the hands of the Imperial German Government, but they desire no reprisal upon the German people, who have themselves suffered all things in this war, which they did not choose. . . . We cannot take the word of the present rulers of Germany as a guarantee of anything that is to endure. . . ." The American President, as usual, was drawing his

distinction between German people and the Kaiser group. On this document the Kaiser noted:

"Wilson must give up trying to make the German people as he wants them. He must take them as they are. A Wilsonian peace cannot be accepted by either the people or the army or the Kaiser."

On the 30th of August Councillor of Embassy von Hindenburg, in Berne, Switzerland, reported to Chancellor Michaelis that he had an interview with the papal representative, who again requested the Germans to make a clear statement regarding Belgium. In the week which followed, the Kaiser's entourage swamped him with the usual reports, telegrams, newspapers, and anonymous letters upholding the Junker position. Pacelli, finally, on the 9th of September wrote to von Bergen: "Strictly confidential. Excellency: I think it necessary to inform your excellency confidentially, and through your praiseworthy intercession the Emperor's government, that his eminence, the cardinal secretary of state, has written me asking a favourable reply regarding Belgium. Britain's representative told me this morning it is the most important point for England."

For eleven days there is diplomatic silence so far as the archives go, then telegram No. 172, replying to telegram 86: "... Papal representative extraordinarily depressed disillusioned his letter unanswered . . . showed me telegram cardinal secretary state foresees collapse peace movement if present *modus procedenti* fails. On other side there is so little good will that 'undefiniteness of our concessions' will lead to flat refusal."

The last attempt for peace came from Rome on the 21st, in a telegram saying "in the interests of peace the Holy See will not publish the Kaiser's Government's answer until Berlin has spoken its last word regarding part 3 and part 4 of the papal proposals."

The last item in the dossier is the report of a telephone conversation between the Prussian representative in Munich and the Berlin Foreign Office: "I have told the papal representative (Pacelli) there is nothing that can be altered. . . . He replied that according to telegrams from papal secretary of state there is noth-

ing to be done but consider the peace move of the pope as collapsed. . . . He was considerably excited."

Scheidemann, in recalling Kuehlmann's statement that the Curia had been informed and was in agreement with Germany regarding Belgium, and that the pope awaited no further reply, concludes: "Exactly the opposite was true . . . the pope and the Curia insisted on a clear reply for the purpose of proceeding with the peace, and the ambiguity of the German position regarding Belgium caused the collapse of the peace movement."

This is the history of the black secret diplomacy which ruined the Vatican's plan. The pope's original proposal had been intended as a private document, but all governments made it public so they could attack it the better. The nations were still too blood-thirsty, too land hungry, to accept peace, and each side still was certain of a victory which would gain billions in indemnity, colonies, world trade, hegemony, the supreme power for future centuries. Moreover, the pope had referred to their war as "useless carnage." German and French, Austrian and American newspapers were turned loose upon this phrase. The pope's proposals were called insulting and defeatist. The French saw the German Catholics in a plot behind the Vatican, the Germans saw the French plotting. Catholic and anti-clerical and Protestant newspapers were marshalled by order of the press bureaus and the foreign offices to attack the Vatican's plan. French Catholic organizations were told to disapprove. Likewise German. In Italy Baron Sonnino advised Parliament it would be a good thing to search for the origin and inspiration of the pontifical *démarche da parte nemica*, in the enemy's camp. Super-patriots were alarmed the war might be brought to an end before enough spoils were in sight. Even years later one of them, Mussolini, defends this group, saying in his autobiography:

Benedict XV did not leave in our souls a sympathetic memory. We could not, if we tried, forget that in 1917, while people were struggling, when we had already seen the fall of Tsarism and the Russian Revolution with the defection of the armies on the Eastern front, the pontiff defined the war with the unhappy expression, "a useless massa-



cre." That phrase, inconceivable in such a terrible moment, was a blow to those who had faith in sacrifice for an ideal and who hoped the war would correct many deep-rooted historical injustices. Besides, war had been our invention; the Catholic Church had ever been a stranger to wars, when she did not provoke them herself. And yet, the ambiguous conduct of the pope amid the fighting nations is considered nowadays by some zealous persons who are deficient in critical sense and blind to historical consciousness, as the maximum of equity and the essence of an objective spirit.

Almost immediately came Caporetto:

"Down with war! Long live the pope!" shouted thousands of Italian troops as they turned from the front, walked out of the trenches, and started for home, just as the Russian soldiers had tired of the useless slaughter and in the name of peace quit the endless nightmare. The Italian Government blamed the Vatican in large part for its terrible defeat.

Christmas, 1917, Pope Benedict in his discourse complained he had been misunderstood. He had been only too well understood. But the Kaiser group on one side and the Kaiser group's equivalent on the other side did not want peace. The pope said *nothing* more until May 9, 1918, when he instructed priests to say mass for a just peace. At the end of the year he blessed the peace conference.

The publication of the secret archives of the Tsarist government by the Bolsheviks in 1917 confirmed the real cause of the war as given by Pope Pius. The greed and corruption of nations was clearly expressed in the secret treaties by which the world was to be divided among the victors and unprecedented injustices and cruelties imposed upon nations and peoples. The price at which Italy had sold herself to the Entente was stated in the treaty of April 26, 1915, signed by Grey, Cambon, Imperiali and Benkendorff. From this document Benedict learned how strong an opponent he had had in the Italian foreign office. Clause XV of the treaty read:

France, Great Britain, and Russia undertake to support Italy in so far as she does not permit the representatives of the Holy See to take

diplomatic action with regard to the conclusion of peace and the regulation of questions connected with the war.

During the peace conference it was proposed on several occasions that the Vatican send a representative, but the Entente leaders were always successful in preventing this. Cardinal Dubois, then archbishop of Rouen, sent a letter to Cardinal Gasparri expressing regret that the pope's envoy was absent. In the House of Lords a reply was made by Lord Stanmore. "The pope," he said, "is in the same situation as the ruler of a neutral state, of which in no case can a representative be permitted into the peace conference except with the consent of all the belligerents."

American prelates in Paris were said at that time to have expressed the viewpoints of the pope on several great questions, but officially the Vatican was never permitted to say a word during the negotiations. The pope in public continued to hope for peace based on humanitarian grounds.

In his encyclical *Pacem Dei munus* in 1920, when one major war and several smaller ones were being waged, the Pope said: "The joy which has been brought to us by the conclusion of peace is mixed with numerous and very bitter inquietudes. . . . Because, if the hostilities have ceased almost everywhere, if indeed certain conventions of peace have been signed, the germs of inveterate hatred still exist." No one saw more clearly or spoke more sanely than the pope at that time.

There still remains the question of papal action preventing and ending wars; there are still many, especially American Catholics, who believe that were the pope to speak *ex cathedra*, that is, infallibly, ordering Catholics of all nations not to take up arms and to lay down arms they have taken up, universal peace could be obtained.

If, however, in 1914 a papal order to that effect had been given, it surely would not have been published in any war-waging country and perhaps not in all the neutral countries, and where it was published the press would surely have been instructed to ridicule the pope, to call him an enemy of the nation, and to de-

mand of Catholics that they show their honour and patriotism by disobeying the mandate.

From Augustine to Thomas Aquinas the great moral theologians of the Church have endeavoured to define the conditions under which war is right or permissible. Suarez and Vittoria, eminent theologians of the post-scholastic age, have written the Catholic doctrine of "permissible war" in classic and definitive form, summarized by the German historian Hermann Hoffmann as "war is permissible when there is no question that one side is in the right and the other is in the wrong, when the means of peaceful settlement have been exhausted, when there is a chance of success, when war is waged with civilized weapons, that is, without the use of poisons; when it remains a war between armed troops and not against an unarmed populace; when evils such as murder of noncombatants, robbery, and plunder, the violation of women, and other immoralities, have been banished."

There was a time when the Catholic Church not only did not condemn war, but engaged in it, notably, the Crusades. But not all Catholics approved the Crusades, as St. Francis clearly showed. Leo XIII denounced universal military training as a crime against conscience. The more recent armament race was denounced by the popes, and the present armament of nations by the present pope. The Vatican policy during the World War and after indicates that while it may not be preparing an order to the 300,000,000 Catholics of the world to abstain from arms in the coming conflicts, the Church will certainly not hesitate to exercise its power with greater vigour to protect its own strength and preserve Christianity from threatening ruin.

## CHAPTER XVIII

### *Modern Trials of Vatican Diplomacy*

THE HISTORY OF VATICAN DIPLOMACY IN THE MODERN STATES, LIKE that of all nations, includes a long series of successes and reversals. The Church continues to meet its attacks and press its victories. Before the war it faced the *Los vom Rom* movement in Vienna and the *Kulturkampf* in Berlin which sought its elimination from the national life in Germany. In our day it faced disestablishment in the most Catholic of Catholic countries, Spain, the renewed war by Mexico, the "perpetual problem of the hierarchy" in France, the Mussolinic onslaught which disregarded the signing of treaties, the Polish movement for a nationalist church, the anti-Catholic political outburst in America and elsewhere.

The settlement of the Irish question was considered a victory in Rome. Long ago Lloyd George had admitted the problem never could be solved because the Irish priests, he said, were the backbone of Sinn Fein. He had negotiated with the Vatican and discussed the matter with Cardinal Gasquet in London. The creation of the Irish Free State with separation from Protestant Ulster was welcomed by the Church.

The alarm in Rome following the agreement between Lloyd George, Zaharoff and Premier Venizelos of Greece, by which the Greeks were to get Constantinople after a victorious movement in Anatolia, was calmed by the victory of Kemal Pasha at Smyrna. The Vatican was just as opposed to Greek as to Russian occupancy of that ancient seat of Christianity. Kemal's victory was the pope's victory. Upon the report that Christians were being slaughtered in Smyrna, the pope telegraphed the victorious Ghazi and received a reply saying orders had been given for the immediate execution of any soldier found harming a Christian.

Among the numerous minor matters relating to the Vatican and the modern states was the marriage of Tsar Boris of Bulgaria and Princess Giovanna, daughter of the king and queen of Italy, solemnized with Roman Catholic rites and national rejoicing. The hope that this event might lead to rapprochement with the Orthodox Greek Church of Bulgaria was nullified by the celebration of a second marriage ceremony in Sofia and the later report that the first child of the new royal house had been baptized in the Orthodox faith and not in the Roman, as had been promised.

The Vatican's relations with Germany and Italy, the reader will find in the chapter devoted to Catholic political parties; its relations to America, in another special chapter; its relations with the modern governments of Spain, Mexico, Russia, and France are herewith discussed.

In the years of ferment which followed disastrous war with the United States there were thousands of local strikes, many general strikes, a vast growth in the radical movement, and opposition to monarchy and Church, which in Spain were indissolubly linked. To end a popular movement for liberty, a dictator was of course necessary, and Primo de Rivera came into power in 1923 with the frank admission that he would copy all of the lovely maxims of his hero, the Duce Mussolini. When Mussolini announced a programme of Hierarchy (meaning his own, not the Church), Order, and Discipline, Primo announced his three items: The Nation, the Monarchy, the Church.

Discontent throughout the land resulted in the fall of the dictator and a general election swept away the monarchy. Because there had been numerous anti-clerical riots just before the 1931 elections, leading Church officials appealed to the millions—there are only 30,000 non-Catholics in Spain—to vote only for delegates of the Catholic faith who would support the Church in the Cortes. Cardinal Pedro Segura y Saenz, archbishop of Toledo and primate of Spain, issued a letter reminding the voters that King Alfonso and the royal family were devout Catholics, defenders of the Faith, who should be upheld by the election of monarchist Catholic deputies.

The declaration of a republic on April 14th, and the flight of the royal family, were followed by an attack on Catholic institutions. Jesuit buildings, schools, headquarters, and laboratories were damaged, looted, or destroyed; monasteries, convents, and churches suffered similarly; priests, and particularly Jesuits, were threatened with death by mobs. When Cardinal Segura was reported to have said, "May the republic be cursed," he was deported on order of the new government.

Provisional President Zamora quickly suppressed anti-clerical rioting. In October, however, the Cortes passed resolutions for the abolition of the state religion, the expulsion of the Jesuit order, the confiscation of its property, and the prohibition of teaching by any religious order. In protest Zamora resigned.

During the preparation of a new constitution, the bishops of Spain issued a pastoral letter urging Catholics to unite in defending their interests against laicism "with its errors and damaging institutions, the plague of modern times." The vicar-general of Vitoria was arrested at San Sebastian charged with having in his possession letters of a treasonable nature from Cardinal Segura, and the government officially asked the Vatican if it had knowledge of the activities, letters, and plans of the expelled primate.

In these strained circumstances it was not surprising that the constitution as adopted was more drastic as regards the Church than had been expected. The state Church, as had been generally expected, was abolished, and religious freedom and equality established. Divorce by mutual consent was permitted, and all restrictions removed regarding illegitimate children. The secularization of education was approved. Civil marriage was adopted.

A month later, in January, 1932, the government dissolved the Society of Jesus and attempted to seize its property, valued at £20,000,000. It found it could take only a third, as the rest was held under private names. Dispossession included the cave of the little town of Manresa, where Loyola, founder of the Jesuits, wrote his *Spiritual Exercises*. Eighty Jesuit communities were affected and thousands of members of the order fled the country.

As an additional gesture of opposition the Cortes held a session on Good Friday.

The suppression of the Jesuits, historically nothing new, papal edict itself having banned them from 1773 to 1814, in this modern instance caused much concern, as it was accompanied by confiscation of property, which had been considered the unpardonable political sin of the Russian Bolsheviks. Unamuno was staunchly in favour. "Irremediable," he wrote, "is that anachronism, the intellectual vulgarity of the Spanish Jesuit." Eugenio d'Ors called the law against the religious congregations and the abolition of religious instruction "an attack on the sacred right of free will." Ortega y Gasset took more of a middle road: "I am against all repressive measures, yet I think the abolition of education by religious orders is welcome for a reason simply administrative—the intellectual incapacity of the reverend fathers."

In 1933 monarchists and conservatives became stronger, polling more votes, while the extreme left wing, anarchists and communists, also drew strength from the moderates. The government united its forces in passing its new Law of Religious Congregations. Church disestablishment was approved by 278 to 50 votes and the property of the Catholic Church, estimated at £100,000,000, was nationalized, while 80,000 monks and nuns were deprived of their right to teach or take part in industry or commerce. They were permitted nothing but contemplative lives within their walls.

The Spanish bishops issued a pastoral letter in favour of disobedience, urging Catholic fathers to send their children only to church schools. The religious orders wrote to reinstated President Zamora, saying, "We will take to the catacombs like the early Christians, but we will continue to exercise our office." Zamora opposed the new measures which were favoured by the premier, Manuel Azana; but the president of Catalonia, Francisco Macia, threw his influence and forty votes in the Cortes into the balance, and the bill was signed.

Only one government was left owing official allegiance to Rome—Hungary.

The pope's reply was the excommunication of the president, premier, and other rulers of Spain. In an encyclical *Dilectissimi nobis* he declared a "spiritual war" between Spain and the Holy See, denied that the Church attempted to hinder political reforms "because the Church accommodates herself to all forms of government and civil institutions provided the rights of God and the Christian conscience are left intact," and lists eight charges against the new republic: the separation of the Church and state is called a "most serious error"; an odious watch has been set on the Catholic religion, its teachings and its schools and the exercise of religion; the administration of sacraments has been hampered; the Church has been stripped of its property and taxed; churches have been declared the property of the state; religious orders have been deprived of their right to teach; all religious orders vowing obedience to authority other than the state have been suppressed; a blow has been struck at the supreme authority of the Church in the declaration that "the authority of the Vicar of Jesus Christ is foreign to the Spanish nation," and religious buildings have been converted into lay schools.

We solemnly protest with all our force against this law, asserting that it can never be appealed to against the imprescriptible rights of the Church. . . . We condemn the principle of suppression of the Church which the state already has sanctioned in the new constitution as the most grievous error and the most lamentable result of the laicism or of the apostasy of present-day society which aims at separating itself from God.

We urge all Catholics in Spain to use all legitimate means to induce the legislators to reform measures so opposed to the rights of every citizen, so hostile to the Church. . . . We call on all Spaniards to unite in defence of their faith, subordinating all other ideals to the common good of their country and their religion.

Although the heads of the government were excommunicated, the state was not, as had happened in France under Pope Gregory V in 998, to Germany under Gregory VII in 1102, to England under Innocent III in 1208, and to Rome itself in 1155 under



Adrian IV. In fact, President Zamora, who with his wife and five children are most devout Catholics, and many ministers and deputies, were offered communion and absolution "if they omit mention of the Church law. They cannot receive absolution if they confess this. In case of death they can receive the last sacrament, since the Church is magnanimous and any priest can hear the confession of a dying man." The papal nuncio, Monsignor Federico Tedeschini, hoped for a *modus vivendi*, and not having been recalled by the Vatican, worked assiduously for it. He appointed Archbishop Isidro Goma primate of the Spanish Church and installed him in the cathedral of Toledo in place of Cardinal Segura.

The year 1933 was one of tumult in the political, social, and religious life of Spain. The Catholic Church could count a few small victories. The Feast of the Sacred Heart was celebrated in Madrid and other cities with banners and processions despite the anger of the Republicans. In Cordova, the Carmelite Father Juan Fernandez Munoz began the celebration of a novena which attracted the entire population. From the Church of St. Nicholas loud speakers brought the sermons into the public squares. The theme was simply that Jesus Christ was the leader of the working people against the capitalists of his time. Thousands of Cordovan workingmen, all born Catholics, who had aligned themselves with the socialist, republican, anarchist, and anti-clerical movements were brought back to the Church by Father Munoz, who on one occasion was taken from his carriage and carried in triumph to his home on the shoulders of radical labourers.

The new primate, after several months of quiet negotiation, found it impossible to obtain better conditions for the Church and finally went almost as far as his predecessor in attacking the government. In an impassioned pastoral he called for war by passive resistance and defiance of the anti-Church laws. Denouncing the state's confiscation of Jesuit property and the refusal to permit religious orders to teach youth, the primate continued:

"There are some things which by their very nature should be

under religious control. Supervision of education, marriage, and public culture are inherent rights of the Church."

Recognizing civil authority for the maintenance of order, the primate urged Catholics "not to forget they also have religious obligations which are no less binding."

He justified opposition to the congregations law and earnest coöperation to bring about its repeal. "Unjust laws merit neither respect nor obedience," he said. "Such legislation as the congregations law deserves nothing but condemnation. Passive resistance in such a case is not a sin of disobedience.

"There is a difference between law and injustice. Law implies, indeed constitutes, order. Injustice means disorder. This is an hour of peril not only for the Church but also in the political, social, moral, and economic order. Ejection of God from a country means economic ruin." He cited Russia as an example of a country "without God and without bread."

"The position of the Church in Spain is indeed sad," Archbishop Goma continued. "We have contributed much to the wealth, the culture, the greatness of Spain, and what is the reward? Within a very short time we have seen our social position degraded, our churches have been violated, arms have been used against us, and many of our priests and nuns are suffering hunger. We have been thrown from peace into a state of open warfare.

"After taking away our means of subsistence the state added insult to injury by appropriating our properties, taking for itself our great treasures, our religious works of incalculable value, our every possession.

"Spain still is Catholic, but what once was solid, live rock has disintegrated into shifting sand. Anti-Christian winds of sophistry, error, persecution, and now law have destroyed our house. Fear, cowardice, and indifference made the enemy audacious, led to his victory. We must abandon retreat and make a valiant stand."

The issue between the Vatican and Mexico was, for the people of the United States, intensely important inasmuch as its climax was marked by military preparations for an invasion of the south-

ern republic and many events bore the taint of oil. While the pope was fighting for the liberty of his faith, certain American interventionists were intriguing for the liberty to exploit Mexican petroleum lands, and the latter never hesitated to use religious antagonism as a means to a commercial end.

In 1926, two years after his election as president of Mexico, Plutarco Elias Calles began enforcing the Carranza constitution of 1917, which proclaimed public ownership of the subsoil of the nation, and which seriously restricted the activities of the Catholic Church. Land containing oil was seized and churches whose priests were Spanish were deprived of them. When riots began, the president used armed forces; where the sword of Cortez had implanted Christianity, the bayonets of Calles were uprooting it four hundred years later.

In the opinion of the American Church "the persecution of Calles is without parallel since the days of Nero and Diocletian." The Knights of Columbus in convention passed an appropriate resolution, interpreted as urging the State Department to lift its embargo on arms and withdraw recognition. Liberal opinion immediately linked the Knights with the Falls and the Dohenys and the Sinclairs and the other oil interests, and shouted, "Hands off Mexico," while Freemasons were also aroused to a like stand. Finally the Catholic Episcopate of the United States issued a pastoral letter explaining its position. "What, therefore, we have written," it concludes, "is no call on the faithful here or elsewhere to purely human action. It is no interposition of our influence either as bishops or as citizens to reach those who possess political power anywhere on earth, and least of all in our own country, to the end that they should intervene with armed force in the internal affairs of Mexico for the protection of the Church. Our duty is done when, by telling the story, we sound a warning to Christian civilization that its foundations are again being attacked and undermined. For the rest, God will bring His will to pass in His own good time and in His own good way."

The pope called for prayers throughout the world. The faithful responded. Among those who approved the expulsion of the Span-

ish clergy was Bishop Miller of the Methodist Episcopal Church in Mexico, who said, "There is no religious persecution here," and charged the clergy with meddling in politics, opposing democracy and lay education, and with "widespread propaganda against the Mexican Government in the United States." In July, four Catholics were killed by soldiers, and the cry, "*Viva Cristo Rey* (Long Live Christ the King)" was heard in the mountains. Rebellion was imminent.

It broke with the New Year. From Coahuila it spread to other states during the summer. René Capistran Garza, "provisional president" and also head of the League of Catholic Youth, raised the standard of revolt. General Arteaga became its military leader in Oaxaca. The Church claimed eleven states on its side and the state admitted five. Calles arrested Archbishop Ruiz y Flores.

America was flooded with propaganda calling for a holy war. The oil, mining, banking, and plantation interests easily obtained the support of politicians, Church dignitaries, and powerful newspapers. The Mexican Government, the American people were told, was persecuting and slaughtering the priests; the Mexican Government was simply an arm of the dread Third Communist International reaching into the Americas, a dagger against burgeoning bourgeois American prosperity. Calles was Antichrist, said speakers of the Knights of Columbus travelling from town to town in Texas. Calles, said a whispering campaign, had been to Moscow and had become an agent of the Leninists; he was an atheist, an enemy of Christianity.

In April, 1927, the United States War Department concentrated almost all of its available aircraft for "manœuvres" in Texas and war correspondents came to the Mexican border prepared for work. The war which Senator Fall had openly preached seemed imminent. In the autumn, General Francisco Serrano, a defeated presidential candidate, headed an army revolt, and government forces took the field, defeating him, General Quijano, and General Gomez, all of whom were shot. In the mountains, the tricolour of Mexico with the head of Christ replacing the eagle and snake, still proclaimed the Catholic rebellion.

The effort of American oil interests to start a war, using religious persecution as a cause, was soon discredited; the liberal press demanded whether the army and navy were to be used again to protect the property of E. L. Doheny, "the one 100 per cent lawless operator in Mexico." The American Federation of Labour declared against intervention and Senators arose to protest the administration "deliberately and consciously driving toward war in Mexico to protect American business interests . . . oil interests that may pay dividends." This was the situation when the Morgan banker, Dwight W. Morrow, accepted the ambassadorship to Mexico. It was due largely to him that the religious war was settled shortly after he had made peace in the petroleum war.

But before that was accomplished a tragic act of great consequences occurred. General Alvaro Obregon, the most important figure in Mexican life since the overthrow of Diaz in 1910, was elected president on July 1, 1928, without opposition; on the 16th he made a declaration, restating his policy as that of 1927, when he first blamed the Catholic clergy for all the ills of his country; on the 17th he was assassinated.

According to American press representatives the murder was political, involved a personal enemy, the minister of labour, and had nothing to do with religious differences. But President Calles issued an official statement that "the criminal has already fully confessed his tragic action was motivated by religious fanaticism. Furthermore, the authorities have gained much information implicating directly clerical action in this crime."

Several days later the president went to interview the assassin in the local prison, and the police record gives this remarkable dialogue:

**PRESIDENT CALLES:** Who instigated you to take General Obregon's life?

**TORAL, THE ASSASSIN:** Christ, our Lord, in order that religion may prevail in Mexico.

**PRESIDENT:** What was your real motive in killing him?

**ASSASSIN:** In order that damnation should not fall upon the people of my country.

PRESIDENT: Who were your accomplices?

ASSASSIN: I had none.

PRESIDENT: How did you hope to escape the consequences?

ASSASSIN: I thought I would be killed, but behold, I am still alive. This proves that the Holy Spirit is all-powerful.

To end the doubts of the American press representatives, the president permitted them a two-hour interview with José de Leon Toral. With great dignity the assassin answered all questions. He said, first of all, that he had acted from noble intentions and absolved the prelates of the Church. He denied that four nuns and a priest, who were under arrest, were implicated.

"If I have committed a crime," he added, "I hope God will forgive me. I killed General Obregon because I believed he was the instigator of persecution of the Church. I now understand that I was misinformed and that General Obregon wished to arrange an understanding with the Church. Unhappily I did not know that before. I now offer my life for him."

On trial, Toral confessed that Mother Superior Concepcion Acevedo y la Llata of the Espiritu Santo Convent, one of the suppressed institutions, had inspired his crime "indirectly" by saying "that religion was being destroyed and the only solution was the deaths of Obregon, Calles, and the Patriarch Perez." After the execution of the assassin and a verdict of twenty years' imprisonment for Mother Superior Concepcion, President Calles modified his original charges against the Church, admitting that not it, but certain individuals, were responsible, and Monsignor Miguel de la Mora issued a statement on behalf of the clergy, saying the Church could not be blamed for an unauthorized act by an individual.

At the beginning of 1929 it was thought that peace between the Catholic Church and the civil republic might easily be established, when a politico-military rebellion broke out in Vera Cruz and in Sonora, led by General Escobar. President Portes Gil appointed Calles minister of war. The latter marched and soon returned victorious. He then announced his intention of eliminating the guerilla bands which he termed "religious rebels" who had been

active, especially in the state of Jalisco, since the outbreak of the Catholic rebellion in 1926. Numerous battles were fought, in the last of which, on June 4th, Goroztieta, the rebel leader, was killed.

A few days later President Gil outlined the basis of peace with the Vatican:

1. The Mexican Government will allow the Catholic hierarchy to designate those priests who are to register in compliance with Mexican laws.
2. Religious instruction, while not permitted in the schools (as specified in the constitution) will be permitted within the churches.
3. The right is reserved to Mexican Catholic prelates to apply for modification of the constitution at any time in the future, which is the same right granted all Mexican citizens.

Peace was made, thanks were given to Ambassador Morrow, and amid universal rejoicing the churches were opened and large crowds celebrated with religious ceremonies. Within a year 5,000 churches which had been closed and seized were returned by the government. In the United States many Catholics were afraid the major issues had not been met, that religious liberty, religious instruction, and religious peace were still out of reach, while many non-Catholics suggested that the hierarchy had come to a compromise "in the face of inability to secure true popular support of the Mexican people."

The State of Tabasco, claiming it was acting within the constitutional limitation provision, ordered all priests to leave; Vera Cruz limited the clergy to eleven; Guerrero ruled only one priest for 15,000 persons, Oaxaca to 10,000; other states made other restrictions and Catholics the world over complained. Archbishop Ruiz, now apostolic delegate, silenced criticism for the while with the following warning:

"Once the pope sanctioned the terms of reconciliation, within the limits of the Catholic conscience it is not right for any Catholic to rebel and constitute himself a judge of the supreme authority of his Church. . . . The door is open for sending to the holy

father whatever accusations and complaints there may be, but in no manner can there be suffered the scandalous and discordant efforts which have lately been made, a year and a half after the Church and state crisis settlement has been reached. I cannot permit discussions by people holding such views, for now is not the time to discuss but to obey, and I cannot recognize any right to demand of me an account of my official actions."

On Christmas Eve, 1930, Archbishop Diaz sent a message, "not only for religious motives, but also for patriotic motives," urging Mexican Catholics to coöperate in crushing Protestantism, which was described as "a regrettable discord and a heresy; the mother and source of innumerable heresies . . . a social dissolvent that causes dangers and very grave ills in Mexico." American preachers were accused of favouring the annexation of Mexico for the purpose of spreading their religion. "Whatever may be the aims of the American Protestant sects," the archbishop concluded, "experience has shown that Protestantism, frankly and openly preached, is something hateful to Mexicans, who immediately perceive in that propaganda something that is contrary to their religion and their country. . . . It is the popular opinion here that Protestantism is one of the elements with which the powerful neighbour nation is trying gradually but effectively to dominate and realize its imperialism in our land."

Throughout 1931 numerous Mexican states continued to limit the number of priests. There were disorders at times. The apostolic delegate protested the Vera Cruz situation to President Ortiz Rubio, and received a telegram from Governor Alberto Tejeda in which the Church was called "the enemy of all work tending toward human redemption. . . . Your labors have resulted in an attempt by a fanatic incited by you to murder me by shooting me from behind." Tejeda then dismissed all the primary and high-school teachers in the State of Vera Cruz who professed the Catholic faith. There were numerous disorders approaching "a state of terror"—bombs were thrown, persons were stabbed, a church was burned and the residence of the vicar-general dynamited. To the demand that the national government interfere,



President Rubio in his message to Congress replied that the sovereignty of the individual states would be respected in enforcing their religious laws.

The culmination of all this strife was the renewal of the war between Mexico and the Vatican in 1932. The pope issued an encyclical calling upon rulers to realize "that the persecution of Catholics in Mexico, besides being an outrage against God, against His Church, and against the conscience of a Catholic people, is also an incentive to the subversion of the social order, which is the aim of those organizations that profess to deny God." Archbishop Ruiz told his followers that the encyclical orders the clergy and the people not to rise in arms, but to tolerate the laws after exhausting all means of protest. He said "pacific opposition to the laws which are oppressive to religious rights could not be called a rebellion. It is a duty which God Himself imposes and is a lesson of sane democracy which the Church has given throughout the centuries. . . . So long as there are Catholics in Mexico, the pope has a right to address them. The pope cannot be called a foreign power because it is through him that God and Jesus Christ rule over the world."

Thus was raised the old question of Church and state. Gil, the former president, now attorney-general, ruled that the pope's legate had lost his Mexican citizenship because "the creation of the Vatican State has made the Vatican a foreign power." The archbishop was awakened early one morning and told he was being deported as "an undesirable foreigner," although he was Mexican-born; in answer to a protest he was told he had lost his citizenship "by serving a foreign power—*i.e.*, the Vatican." The apostolic delegate was sent by aeroplane to Tampico, and from there went to Laredo, Texas.

Civil authority in Mexico was extremely bitter. The government organ, *El Nacional*, called the papal encyclical "violent and non-apostolic, a declaration of war." A delegation of one hundred members of the chamber of deputies called upon the retired dictator, Calles, who, after approving the action of the government, offered his services "if that action led to more serious trouble."

President Abelardo Rodriguez issued a bitter and sinister public answer to the encyclical, saying, "The present government, founded on revolutionary principles which include the complete spiritual liberation of the masses and the elimination of fanaticism, counts on the full support of all classes and will not tolerate dominion of any outside power.

"In answer to the open inciting of the clergy to provoke agitation, I declare that at the slightest manifestation of disorder the government will proceed with the greatest energy to resolve definitely this problem which has cost the nation so much blood and sacrifice.

"I fully respect the liberty of worship established by the constitution but I cannot tolerate those who do not know how to do honour to their own religion and utilize national property to pursue a campaign hostile to the government. If the insolent and defiant attitude shown in the recent encyclical continues, I am determined that the churches will be converted into schools and shops for the benefit of the proletarian classes of Mexico."

The fall of the mighty Tsar of Russia and the advent of Bolshevism were received by the Vatican with unusually mingled feelings: the communist theory of the State was recognized as a new enemy, but the fall of the Greek Orthodox Church of which Nicholas II was also the head was recognized as the defeat of an old enemy.

The history of the Roman Church in Russia has been one of persecution at the hands of the leaders of the Greek Church. Even when the Tsar was forced by revolution in 1905 to grant concessions to the masses under his ukase of tolerance, which permitted subjects to practise any religion and attend any church, the Holy Synod made liberty and progress difficult, if not impossible, for Roman Catholics.

During the war the Vatican believed the Tsarist desire for Constantinople a great factor hindering more serious consideration of the papal peace terms. So long as the Russian dictatorship maintained its imperialistic plans of conquest, the Allies could not

come to a fair and just basis for peace negotiations. The Vatican could not favour the Entente so long as Russia belonged to it. Count Sforza quotes Cardinal Gasparri saying to the historian Ferrero: "You know very well the manner in which Catholics were treated in Tsarist Russia. The victory of Russia, to whom France and England had made so many promises, would have constituted for the Vatican a disaster greater than the Reformation."

The separation of Church from state during the March-October reign of Kerensky opened what appeared at first a new era for Catholic endeavour; the Soviet abolition of the state Church endangered the situation, but still left equality in religion for Catholics with the opportunity of reforming and converting the whole country. "I have a precise recollection of several cases which came to my knowledge when I was foreign minister," adds Count Sforza, "which proved that, at the Vatican, Bolshevism was, at the beginning, viewed as a horrible evil undoubtedly, but also as a necessary evil which might possibly have salutary consequences. And, from a strictly Catholic point of view, it was no mistake. . . . The structure of the Russian Church would never have given way so long as Tsarism lasted. Among the ruins accumulated by Bolshevism there was room for everything, even for a religious revival in which the influence of the Roman Church might have made itself felt."

If ever a country was rotten-ripe for a reformation, it was Russia. The Orthodox Church was filthy with corruption and debauchery. The practice of the Russian clergy in the villages at times betrayed an almost complete lack of knowledge of civilization and Christianity. Magic, black and white, for money, was commonly practised by representatives of the Tsar's Church among the ignorant peasantry. Violence and murder in the form of anti-Semitic action were sanctioned and at times blessed because they kept the miserable masses from thinking of their own misery and hardships, and supplied the scapegoat. The Orthodox Church was at times little more than an adjunct to the military and

espionage, another agent in suppressing the spread of intelligence and the demand for human liberties.

Monsignor de Ropp, bishop of Vilna, who had been driven from his diocese by the Tsar in 1907, called numerous meetings in 1920 of Russian *émigrés* in Berlin, Orthodox and converted Catholics, Balts, Germans, and priests, and proposed the union of the Russian Orthodox and the Roman Catholic Churches. The opinion of the Vatican was expressed by the *Osservatore Romano*: "All were in favour of recognizing the moment had arrived propitious for rapprochement inasmuch as the iron circle of *cæsaropapism*, which hermetically closed Russian religious life to all Roman influences, had been broken. It is true that actual political conditions form a grave obstacle, but this obstacle has a temporary character." Monsignor de Ropp made three demands on the Soviets: permission to return to Petrograd; liberty of conscience and religion and freedom of religious education; the restitution of church edifices and other property to the Church.

While this great crusade to win a nation and convert 90,000,000 to the oldest Christian cult was gaining momentum, the Soviets were playing a subtle game: they were encouraging the Catholic movement and at the same time organizing the greatest atheistic campaign since the days of the French Revolution. For the Bolsheviks the success of either or both would give the same satisfaction. The one plan was to crush or divide the old state Church and free by any means the minds of the coming generation from its immorality and degeneration and blinding authority. Divide and conquer. The creation of a large Catholic Church, the formation of a large atheistic group, the reformation in the Orthodox Church (which led to the formation of the Soviet-inspired Living Church with Bishop Vedensky as patriarch), and the arrival of the representatives of American Protestantism with a plan to contend for souls with Catholic priests, made the year 1922 notable in the religious history of Soviet Russia.

Diplomatic manœuvres were continued at Genoa that year during the great but fruitless economic conference when the pope sent certain instructions to the archbishop of Genoa, Monsignor

Signori, and his diplomatic representative, Monsignor (now Cardinal) Sincero. At the dinner given by the king of Italy on board the cruiser *Dante* the Bolshevik minister of foreign affairs, Georges Chicherin, and Monsignor Signori exchanged autographed menu cards and clinked wineglasses. Chicherin related afterwards that when he explained to the archbishop the value of separation of Church and state, the latter fully agreed. The position of Monsignor Sincero was reported difficult. In May the pope, after sending a letter urging peace to Cardinal Gasparri, delegated Monsignor Pizzardo to Genoa with a letter from the papal secretary of state urging the nations, believed to be preparing a great peace treaty with Russia, to insert clauses guaranteeing full liberty of conscience, freedom to practise any religion, and the restoration of church property. The Bolsheviks at first showed a sympathetic attitude. But with the signing of the Russo-German commercial treaty the Genoa conference came to deadlock and finally to failure, and the Vatican plan shared a like fate.

In Rome Monsignor Pizzardo now treated with the Soviet minister, Vorowsky. The result was satisfactory. Catholic missionaries were permitted free entry and circulation for the purpose of studying the land preparatory to organizing a mission to help feed and clothe the starving population. Eleven priests left Rome, promising to abstain from all propaganda, and taking with them one million packages each marked "to the children of Russia from the pope in Rome."

When the great American relief expedition came to Moscow the Vatican appointed Father Edmund A. Walsh of Georgetown University head of the papal relief mission and representative of the Holy See. Father Walsh joined with Colonel Haskell, chief of the Hoover American Relief Administration, in an unending series of disputes and misunderstandings with the Soviet authorities. The former accused the Bolsheviks of attempting to make propaganda out of the relief work; the latter retaliated by charging commercial enterprise against Haskell and religious enterprise against Father Walsh. The Soviet view, as explained many years

later by Louis Fischer, was that "Father Walsh constituted the chief obstacle to the successful consummation of the pope's plan [for winning Russia to Catholicism]. The Bolsheviks found him 'most objectionably proud and inclined to make a terrible scandal out of every little issue.' . . . His implacable and undisguised enmity soon caused difficulties." The chief difficulty was the arrest of fifteen Catholic priests and the execution of one of them after a sensational trial which aroused the religious world. Father Walsh of course did everything he could to move international public opinion to save the lives of his fellow priests. Not only the Vatican, but the Anglican Church, protested, and the Polish General Sikorsky threatened another invasion.

Monsignor Constantine Butchkavitch, the vicar-general, and Archbishop Zepliak, were sentenced to death by the Soviet authorities on charges of treason, of giving aid and comfort to the enemy, Poland, during the war of 1920. They had denied this, but had admitted hindering the Soviet confiscation of Church wealth. The minister of justice, Kursky, after informing the representatives of the world press that in his opinion the death sentence was just but would not be carried out, was himself surprised, as was Minister Chicherin, who had told Father Walsh the same thing, when one morning he read in his newspaper a simple announcement that Monsignor Butchkavitch had been shot to death in the Cheka prison. The action by the police was the result of anger and chagrin over the whole world's joining in protest against the Bolshevik system of justice. For the Catholic Church it created a new martyr.

Broken relations between the Vatican and Moscow were not mended by a conference in Rome between the Bolshevik representative, Jordansky, and Father Tacchi-Venturi, assistant to Ledochovski, the head of the Jesuit order. For this failure the Soviets continued to blame the fierce antagonism of Father Walsh. In 1924, when the Catholic Church was converting great numbers of Russian *émigrés* in Berlin, Paris, and other centres of refuge, a proposal from Moscow for a new peace meeting was received

indifferently. The next year Chicherin handed the papal nuncio, Pacelli, in Berlin, a dossier on Church matters with plans for regulating the appointment of bishops, the transmission of funds, the education of children, and like matters, but banning the appearance in Russia of priests of Polish nationality.

Except for an intimation in 1927 that the Soviet proposals failed to satisfy the Vatican, there has been no direct relationship between them and the Catholic Church remains in Russia without any defined legal status. In February, 1930, following the annual anti-religious festivals in Russia when the League of the Godless paraded effigies of Christ, Moses, Mohammed, and Osiris and a large figure bearing the legend Almighty God and burned them in the Red Square, the pope addressed a protest to the vicar-general of Rome, Cardinal Pompilj, in which he enumerates the failure of negotiations throughout the years and calls upon the whole Christian world to join in prayer for the cessation of "horrible and sacrilegious outrages" against the churches. These outrages, the pope wrote, are repeated daily against God and against the human souls of Russia and against the "devoted and generous sons of the Church and its ministers who have proved their devotion and generosity by martyrdom and death." The pope recalls his effort at Genoa to extract from all the powers a promise there would be no recognition without the Soviet consent to religious freedom; his three points, unfortunately, "were sacrificed to temporal interests which would have been safeguarded better if the various governments had above all respected the rights of God, His Kingdom, and His Justice." The papal intervention to save from destruction the sacred vessels and icons "which formed a treasure of piety and art dear to all Russian hearts," likewise failed, but the holy father recalls his consolation at having saved the life of the Patriarch Tikhon and having saved from famine and a horrible death at lest 150,000 children.

Continuing, the pope declares that sacrilegious impiety rages not only against the priests and adult believers, but also against the young, whom it is sought to pervert by an abuse of their

ingenuousness and ignorance. Instead of teaching science and civilization, which, like honour, justice, and welfare, cannot prosper without religion, the so-called "League of Militant Atheists" are seeking to "conceal their moral, cultural, and economic decadence by a sterile and inhuman agitation." Children are instigated to denounce their parents, and to destroy religious buildings and implements. Above all, it is sought to contaminate the souls of the young with every vice and with most shameful materialistic excesses, the promoters of which, in their eagerness to strike at religion and God Himself, bring about the ruin of intellect and of human nature itself."

His holiness next refers to the steps taken by him to combat these excesses. He had drawn attention to these excesses in his consistorial allocutions, in the encyclical on the education of youth, and further had not ceased to "offer daily prayers himself to cause prayers to be said for those millions of souls redeemed by the blood of Christ who were being urged and almost compelled to profane their baptism, the traditional piety of their families toward the Holy Virgin, and even the last remaining vestiges of honour and respect due to the domestic sanctuary."

The holy father cites also the appointment of a special commission for Russia, the approval of special prayers and the special lectures given by the Institute of Oriental Studies denouncing the sacrilegious activities of the Militant Atheists League. The example of Rome had, his holiness was glad to say, been followed by other lectures and meetings held in London, Paris, Geneva, Prague, and other cities.

But, the pope continues, "the recrudescence of and the official publicity given to such blasphemy and impiety demand a more universal and more solemn reparation." As instances of these excesses the holy father recalls that at Christmas hundreds of churches were closed, numerous icons were burned, and work was forced upon school children and work-people. Sunday had been abolished, and the compulsory signing of a formal apostasy had been enforced. The penalty of non-compliance involved the for-



feiture of their bread, clothing, and lodging tickets, without which all the inhabitants of that unhappy country were reduced to death by starvation, poverty, and cold.

The pope further refers to many infamous spectacles taking place under the eyes of foreign diplomats, not only in the villages, but in Moscow itself.

Cars were seen to pass upon which, clothed in sacred vestments, were numbers of street urchins who jeered at the Cross and spat upon it. Upon motor-trucks again were piled up huge Christmas trees, to which were attached by the neck numerous dolls representing Catholic and Orthodox bishops. In the very centre of the city other young rascals carried out every sort of sacrilege against the Cross.

The pope then begs Cardinal Pompilj to continue the necessary steps for the special mass his holiness intends to celebrate in Saint Peter's on the tomb of the Apostle as an act of reparation against sacrileges and as an invitation to the faithful all the world over to make similar reparation. He concludes by expressing his conviction that in this solemn supplication he will be joined not only by the members of the Catholic Church, but also by the entire Christian world.

On the feast day of Saint Joseph a mass of "expiation, propitiation and reparation for all the offences against the Divine Heart" was celebrated by the pope in Saint Peter's; it was also a mass "for the salvation of so many souls thus put to such dire trials, and for the release of our dear Russian people, and that these great tribulations may cease."

Meanwhile the French Protestant Federation at a meeting which included the Metropolitan of the Russian Church and the Grand Rabbi of France passed resolutions denouncing Soviet religious policies; the Archbishop of Canterbury condemned the Bolsheviks before the Convocation of the Church of England; the National Council of Free Churches of England took similar action; Bishop Manning, head of the Episcopal Diocese of New York, endorsed the Vatican, and similarly other churches in America passed resolutions or held protest meetings. In 1930 the world emotionally

was aroused against Russia as it had been in 1923 after the execution of the Polish priest.

In France, Vatican diplomacy scored a great success with the resumption of diplomatic relations in 1921.

The anti-clericals who controlled government policies the first years of the twentieth century succeeded, after the passage in 1905 of the Law of Separation of Church and State, in nationalizing church property, closing church institutions, and hampering the activities of the religious orders in France and in all the French colonies.

The formation of a Bourbon-Catholic bloc was one of the reactions. The Duke of Orléans, the Duke of Guise, many other royalties and numerous Catholic lay leaders joined in opposition to the Republic, openly advocating the return of the old discredited pre-Napoleonic regime. Its official organ was the *Action Française*. This religious and political dissension was one of the many troubles in France which the Germans had counted on when they declared war.

In 1919 the agnostic Clemenceau, who was a political realist, intimated that a reconciliation was in order. He made the gesture of nominating a bishop in Alsace, which with its sister province, Lorraine, was largely Catholic; both the restored provinces which had welcomed the French army so joyously in 1918 were already giving signs of dissatisfaction, economically and religiously.

Three years of peace between the Vatican and the Quai d'Orsay were ended by the resumption of hostilities under the generalship of the new French premier, Edouard Herriot, who announced as his triple programme the abolition of the embassy to the Vatican which had been resumed by Briand, the enforcement of all the pre-war laws regarding the religious congregations, and the abolition of the special regime for Alsace-Lorraine which had given the provinces separate denominational schools for each of the leading churches, Catholic, Protestant, and Jewish.

The wave of hostility which swept France was followed by another, perhaps more powerful, caused by the critical financial sit-

uation which was blamed on the anti-clerical government. Vast internal loans were due for redemption, and new loans had to be made, but the large landowners and all the gold-hoarding peasants, all devout Catholics, were not going to trust the Herriot regime with new money. Herriot proposed an increase in monetary circulation and an increase in taxes, both measures meeting universal opposition. He also found that he had inherited a terrible secret: Poincaré had caused the Bank of France to inflate the currency by two billion francs and had failed to inform the nation or the world of this fact. It was blamed on Herriot.

Almost all cardinals of France signed a document protesting the ending of the French embassy to the Vatican, urging all French Catholics, that is to say, almost all the people, to use every legal means against the Herriot government. "A declaration of war," said the liberals. Herriot spoke to the Chamber:

Christianity has rendered services to civilization, when it was Christianity of the catacombs, not Christianity of the bankers.

Christianity at the beginning was of great social import. It was the religion of the poor and the slaves and there have been moments when it defended heroically other liberties than its own.

But little by little the Church allowed itself to mix in conflicts of personal collective interests. Our own history has its sorrows, made by the mixture of religion and politics.

Rome must cease its attempts to make of Catholicism a political party in France.

Rome is trying to constitute Catholic parties everywhere. They have succeeded easily in Germany; they are now attempting a similar thing in Italy and France. Should they succeed, it would be a great misfortune for our country.

The pope has congratulated the Catholics for having organized in France. This is intervention in French internal affairs. The pope should have remained politically neutral.

We are religious liberals. There is one policy, the policy of liberty and independence from the Vatican. Every nation is free, and we do not have to receive orders from the pope.

This attack on the Vatican, however, could not rally enough anti-clerical support to offset the hostility from financial circles,

and in desperation Herriot called upon Senator de Monzie to take the finance ministry and save the government. It was now too late. Herriot then determined to lay all the blame on the secret financial machinations of the Poincaré regime. "I will now tell you the whole truth about French finances," he said to the Chamber of Deputies one day, and the next he was defeated and replaced by Painlevé.

The Vatican had as long ago as 1914 placed a ban on Charles Maurras, who in *L'Action Française* had been advocating resistance and violence; in 1926, with Herriot removed, and friendly relations again established, this ban was published and the Royalist movement led by Maurras and Daudet, which had been attracting the Fascist element of young Frenchmen and numerous younger priests, was now being abandoned. In September, 1927, Cardinal Louis Billot returned his red hat to the pope, the first cardinal to resign in almost a hundred years. An ardent French monarchist, he objected to the pope, whom he held as too liberal, placing the *Action Française* on the Index, and went into retirement. Since that time the papal nuncio, Monsignor Cerretti, had such great success in France that the anti-clericals feared he was leading a great Catholic revival in that country.

The new and successful Czechoslovak republic, in attempting to eliminate the economic system forced upon its citizens by the Habsburg regime, also came into conflict with the Catholic Church. The Emperor Francis Joseph had made use of the bishops in the Slavic districts to propagate the monarchy; President Masaryk immediately approved the suppression of religious instruction and ordered the secularization of education. The nation also voted a vast agrarian reform ending feudal exploitation by the great landlords.

Following its expropriation of certain Church properties and the secularization of education, the Czechoslovak Government, many of whose leaders demanded absolute separation of Church and state, encouraged the establishment of a Czechoslovak National Church which, however, was not able to gain more than a

million members, almost none of whom were Slovaks. In 1925 the anniversary of the burning of the heretic John Huss was proclaimed a national holiday. This led to a complete diplomatic break in relations for two years, followed by a restoration early in 1928. The state now is consulted in the creation of bishops, all of whom must be Czechs and not Germans and Hungarians, as formerly, and other reforms have been made. Peace reigns.

In January, 1930, almost all of Dublin's 400,000 population welcomed the arrival of Archbishop Pasquale Robinson, a prelate born in Ireland, who had arrived as papal nuncio, a representation restored after three hundred years.

## CHAPTER XIX

### *Catholicism and "Americanism"*

TWO TRENDS HAVE MADE THE HISTORY OF THE CATHOLIC CHURCH in America unique among nations: the great growth of Catholic population in the once overwhelmingly Protestant United States, and the so-called Americanization of the Catholic Church. They have resulted in such diverse events as persecution, from the earliest Colonial days down to the Ku Klux Klan, and to several controversies the most important of which Leo XIII stilled for a time, but apparently did not end.

When George Washington took command of the Continental Army there was only one church, St. Joseph's in Philadelphia, where mass was permitted public celebration. In those days in the Colonies outside Maryland it was customary to celebrate "Pope's Day" November 5th, with the burning of an effigy of the pontiff. In 1775 Washington issued the following order:

As the commander-in-chief has been appraised of a design formed for the observance of that ridiculous and childish custom of burning the effigy of the pope, he cannot help expressing his surprise that there should be officers and soldiers of his army so devoid of common sense as not to see the impropriety of such a step. It is so monstrous as not to be suffered or excused. Indeed, instead of offering the most remote insult, it is our duty to address public thanks to our Catholic brethren, as to them we are indebted for every late success over the common enemy in Canada.

(It may be noted that Saxby Vowler Penfold, in his *Why a Roman Catholic Cannot be President of the United States*, makes this same quotation with the words "at this juncture" after . . . "such a step," explaining that it was on account of a deal for French aid that Washington took this measure.)

The Colonies, Penfold adds, required as qualifications for any office of public trust, civil or military, an oath in which invocation of the Virgin Mary or any other saint, and the sacrifice of the mass, as used in the Church of Rome, were condemned as superstitious and idolatrous.

We can now make a long leap through American history to the 10th of November, 1889, when Archbishop Ireland, preaching in Baltimore, uttered a phrase which brought indignation to the strongholds of Protestantism. "Our work is to make America Catholic," said the archbishop. It was at this period that Heckerism (to which the middle part of this chapter is devoted) made its great advance towards reconciling Protestants to Rome and resulted in the Leonine strictures. Then in the twentieth century we find the Catholic population so large and an attitude of mind so liberal that there could be serious thought of electing a Catholic President of the United States. In 1909 Cardinal Gibbons had declared, "So long as these liberties, under which we have prospered, are preserved in their fulness, there is I assert, no danger of a collision between the state and the Catholic Church. The admission, however, of the merely theoretical possibility of such a collision keeps alive the apprehension of timid Protestants and is sufficient to determine some of them to deprive the Catholics forever of the honour of the Presidency." And when in 1911 the primate of the Catholic Church celebrated his fiftieth anniversary in the priesthood and the twenty-fifth of his cardinalate, President Taft, Vice-President Sherman, and ex-President Roosevelt joined in the greatest civil demonstration in American history for a living dignitary of any church. Said Mr. Roosevelt: "Religious intolerance and bitterness are bad enough in any country, but they are inexcusable in ours. Our Republic, mighty in its youth, destined to endure for ages, will see many Presidents during those ages, and it will see Presidents who are Catholic, as well as Presidents who are Protestants—if we live long enough, Presidents who are Jews, as well as Presidents who are Gentiles. . . ."

In 1928 the candidacy of a Catholic was announced (which resulted in a great controversy, details of which are also given in

this chapter); but shortly before that, in a plea for more propaganda to make Catholic philosophy known, a leading Catholic writer, Theodore Maynard, said frankly that

the plain fact is that America will soon become the decisive battleground of the Faith. We must therefore be prepared for a struggle in which weapons keener than those that are just now at our disposal will be called for. . . . England, by making the Reformation successful, created and came to believe the legend that her own success was due to her espousal of the new religion. We see a somewhat similar situation in America. . . . The enormous wealth and the political solidity of America have given her, among broken nations, a position of overwhelming dominance. And the prestige of America is associated, especially, in Latin countries, with the Protestantism which American money is so actively supporting. The process has so far been casual; but it will soon harden and be given a definite direction, and thus grow exceedingly dangerous.

While the question of America becoming Catholic is still open, there is admission on all sides that the progress of the Church has been steady and rapid, so much so, in fact, that Dean Inge comes to the conclusion that "the determined effort of the Roman Catholic Church to capture the great Republic makes the most interesting chapter in modern religious history." Nor is the subject of Americanization of the Church less interesting.

The term "Americanism" in relation to the Catholic Church was first used by its French and other European critics at the end of the nineteenth century to indicate the attempt to give national characteristics to the cult in the United States, a new proof "of the marvelous faculty of adaptation which distinguishes the Catholic Church."

In 1790, when John Carroll was made bishop of Baltimore there were only 30,000 Catholics in the United States grouped around French, Irish, and German priests, with the French predominant. In 1819 there was born to German Protestant parents in New York a son who was destined to play a most important rôle in the development of the Catholic Church in America. Thomas Hecker,



once a member of the Brook Farm colony, quit Transcendentalism, was baptized in 1844, preached and founded the Paulist Fathers in 1857. In the last decade of the century he had followers in many countries, notably France, and his influence was felt around the world.

In the mind of Father Hecker the great drawback to the spread of Catholicism in America was the predominance of "foreign elements"; to develop splendidly, the Church should make itself American, become truly national. The efforts of leaders such as Gibbons, Spalding, and Ireland were fixed on this ideal, provided there was no relaxation of the ties which bound the Church to Rome. As early as 1870 a French critic, M. Houtin, noticed that "Catholicism in the United States has about it an American air," an observation admitted in America but denied in Rome especially during the papacy of Pius IX, when the newness and strength of the Hecker movement was watched with no friendliness but with great reserve.

The election of Leo XIII was particularly pleasing to the Catholics of America, who believed he would prove himself a great broad-minded diplomat and churchman. They were not disappointed. Yet many worthy advisers brought the pope anxious news of "dangerous" developments in the United States, asking him to curb these tendencies.

To tell the truth [comments a French historian, Maurice Pernot], if Leo XIII did not show himself too severe with regard to the nationalism of Catholic Americans, it was because this nationalism was not anti-Roman but anti-European. One may say truly that Hecker had created the "Roman Anglo-Saxon Church." It was not displeasing to the apostles of Catholicism in America that the future priests went to Rome to study, and the foundation of the American College in the Eternal City dates from 1859. In no country in the world was an accord on the procedure of episcopal elections so easily realized as in the great Republic and the regulations fixed at the third council in Baltimore in 1844 preserved considerably the rights of the Holy See.

Father Hecker, son of immigrant parents, was the first leader to realize the Catholic Church in America faced a special problem

and a grave danger because of the composition of the population. Irish, French, Germans, were dividing the Church into as many nationalities. As late as 1891 the German, Cohensly, addressed Cardinal Rampolla in favour of the creation of parishes, clergy, and even a national episcopate for each of the great groups of immigrants, and this led to a determined protest from the American clergy. Monsignor Keane replied he had never believed that the Germans should be excluded from the American episcopate, "but to give the Church in this country the character of a foreign institution would be a danger always for the Catholic religion. If one cared to unloosen a tempest against the American Church one could do no better than to give it the appearance of being the product of European nationalism." Monsignor Ireland declared "where there is but one nation there must not be more than one national church. We do not wish in America to have a German nationalism any more than we wish a French or an Irish nationalism." In this way the views of Father Hecker triumphed, for he had originally declared for "one religion whose frontiers mingle with that of our territory."

The decision of Leo XIII was on the side of the bishops and against the German viewpoint: again in the matter of German, French, and Irish schools the Hecker principle triumphed, so that the American parochial school system was established where all children were taught in English and not in the language of their parents, and all became American as well as Catholic. Another problem was the right of the Church and the right of the state in the instruction of youth, and here again the *Propaganda Fide* ruled, despite the opposition of many Jesuit leaders, in favour of the wishes of the American bishops and in accordance with the Constitution of the United States.

But most important of all in the eyes of Leo XIII and the cardinals of the Curia was the so-called "liberalness" of the American Church, whose profound Catholicity was not questioned, but whose collaboration with the Protestant Churches and with the secular state was a source of anxiety. In 1893 at the Chicago World's Fair a Parliament of Religions was held when Catholic

bishops coöperated with leaders of Christian, Jewish, and even pagan Churches. In many towns priests, ministers, and rabbis exchanged pulpits. This, declared Leo XIII, was dangerous, and while he did not prohibit the Chicago congress, he sent his criticism in a letter to Cardinal Satolli in September, 1895. In 1900 a religious congress was held in Boston, where again Catholic priests met with Protestant and non-Christian clergy.

The question of the separation of Church and state could resolve itself, according to Rome, into only two answers; they could be allies or enemies. In Europe at that time most nations had a state religion, Catholic or Protestant, while in America the absolute separation was guaranteed by the Constitution. Said Archbishop Ryan in Baltimore in 1889: "If at other times and in other lands the union of Church and state had had advantages, there is no disposition in the Constitution of the United States more beneficial than that which keeps them separate." Many Catholic critics considered the theory of absolute separation dangerous and condemnable, and theologians and canonists in Rome took a long time to convince themselves that temporal and spiritual separation in America might really be beneficial to their cause.

In 1889 the American situation was summed up by the Catholic historian Premoli:

The activity of the Catholics of the United States naturally arises from the enterprising and almost audacious character of that great and glorious country. Toward the end of the nineteenth century so-called Americanism, with its tendency to give the active virtues in Christianity predominance over the passive, to prefer individual inspiration to the eternal magisterium of the Church, to concede everything possible to non-Catholics, while passing over certain truths in silence if necessary as a measure of prudence, was condemned by Leo XIII in his letter *Testem divinæ providentiæ* to Cardinal Gibbons.

The pope's letter followed the publication of a Life of Father Hecker with an introduction by Archbishop Ireland in which he said: "Father Hecker and his co-workers have been reproached with being the 'Yankee' Catholic Church; the reproach was their praise. Every century calls forth its type of Christian perfec-

tion. . . ." Catholic publications intimated that Archbishop Ireland might be punished for this writing. Dr. Maignen, the French Sulpician, attacked Heckerism and Americanism. It was reported that Cardinal Satolli had congratulated Dr. Maignen "upon having by his fight against Americanism laboured to stamp out a scourge which had already affected two continents." Then came the letter to Cardinal Gibbons on "false and true Americanism in religion" in which the pope said in part:

The Life of Isaac Thomas Hecker, especially interpreted and translated in a foreign language, has excited not a little controversy, because therein have been voiced certain opinions concernings the way of leading a Christian life. The underlying principle of these new opinions is that, in order to more easily attract those who differ from her, the Church should shape her teachings more in accord with the spirit of the age, relax some of her ancient severity, and make some concessions to new opinions. Many think that these concessions should be made not only in regard to the ways of living, but even in regard to the doctrines which belong to the deposit of the faith. It does not need many words, beloved son, to prove the falsity of these ideas. . . .

From the foregoing it is manifest, beloved son, that we are not able to give approval to those views which in their collective sense are called Americanism by some. If, indeed, by that word is meant certain qualities which distinguish the people of America, as other nations are distinguished, and in so far as the expression applies to the Constitution of your States, and your laws and customs, there is not, assuredly, the smallest reason for us to think that it should be rejected.

The pope, pointing out that no single body may depart from the accepted Catholic doctrine and discipline and expressing the hope that "our venerable brethren and bishops of America would be the first to repudiate and condemn" such action, concludes:

It raises the suspicion that there are some among you who conceive of and desire a Church in America different from that which is in the rest of the world. One in the unity of doctrine as in the unity of government, such is the Catholic Church, and since God has established its centre and foundation in the Chair of Peter, one which is rightly called Roman, for where Peter is there is the Church.

Within the Catholic Church in the United States the question whether or not a wrong Americanism existed was disputed by leading priests. Cardinal Gibbons assured the holy father that "the false conceptions of Americanism emanating from Europe have no existence among the prelates, priests, and Catholic laity of our country." Archbishop Riordan, addressing the Sulpician Seminary in Paris, declared that Americanism as a heresy existed "nowhere except in the imagination of three or four Frenchmen," whereas Bishop McQuaid in his sermon of June 25, 1889, took the contrary view, saying:

We are gravely told that there is no Americanism among American Catholics deserving of blame. . . . Yet there is a species of Americanism which the holy father has condemned prior to his encyclical of last January. . . . First you all remember the sorry spectacle the Parliament of Religions exhibited at the Chicago Fair, when the Catholic Church—the Church of the crucified Saviour—was put on a par with every pretence of religious denomination from Mohammedanism and Buddhism down to the lowest form of evangelicalism and infidelism. The holy father's reprobation of such parliaments or congresses satisfied the just sentiments of our Catholic people. . . . Secondly, there was heard the cry from some quarters that if our Catholic people would adopt the state system of public-school education—education without religion or God—the American people would be disarmed and embrace us all as brothers. . . . The whole question went before the head of our Church for adjudication, and the response gratified the heart of every loyal child of the Church; it left no room for doubt or cavil. . . .

When President Cleveland placed the first stone for the Catholic University in Washington, when President Harrison inaugurated the building, when Cardinal Gibbons, at the request of President Roosevelt, consecrated with prayer the first work on the St. Louis Exposition, and when the same President asked Monsignor Spalding, bishop of Peoria, to participate in the arbitration commission for settling the miners' strike, it was realized in Rome that this sort of coöperation in a state which made a fetish of

separation was perhaps better than the concordat with many other nations.

The relationship of the Vatican with the United States, according to Pernot, was not furthered during the reign of Pius X. "The mission confided by the pope to Cardinal Satolli the summer of 1904 did nothing to reestablish good relations. . . . As apostolic delegate in Washington, Cardinal Satolli left unfortunate souvenirs; an intriguer, a man of money affairs, he meddled too much in many affairs. . . . Cardinal Satolli returned to Rome dissatisfied with the Americans, and found Pius X still more dissatisfied with his envoy."

The Conclave of 1922, which led to the reported protest of Cardinal O'Connell, was followed by a time extension already noted, and in March, 1924, when two more American cardinals were created, the pope made a statement which the Catholics of America received with great joy. "If the action is extraordinary," said Pius XI, "the historical moment which inspires us is also extraordinary and without precedent." Relations between the American Church and Rome were never better and the pope's words are taken as an augury he will reward the faithful in the United States with the creation of several additional cardinals.

In 1867 Pius IX proscribed American Protestant worship on strictly Roman soil, ordering its removal to any point outside the walls of the Eternal City, and President Johnson, indignant, retaliated by ordering the American ministry to the Holy See closed.

In 1919 the Methodists of America bought a plot of ground on Monte Mario in Rome, where Dr. Bertrand M. Tipple, president of the Methodist College, planned a Protestant institution which would dominate Catholic St. Peter's.

The Vatican's attention was called by the Roman press. *L'Idea Nazionale* said: "Everyone knows that the Methodists desire the elevation of their institution on Monte Mario precisely in order to ostentatiously send forth before all the world and from Rome an affirmation against Catholicism and the Vatican." The *Tribuna*

believed "American Methodists are the most warlike and the most hostile to the Catholic Church among all the Protestants."

In 1920 the Holy Office issued a letter asking Catholic bishops to watch "an organization which . . . instils indifferentism and apostasy to the Catholic religion."

The war was now two years back in history, but the activities of the American Young Men's Christian Association, which had moved with the American regiments sent to restore Italian morale after the war's greatest disaster, Caporetto, now flourished in Rome and throughout Italy. It did not sell cigarettes and chocolate and arrange soldier theatricals, but it did supply a centre for Italian as well as American Protestantism. That it had engaged in proselytizing, that it had become a menace to Catholicism, was not even suspected by the American people, and the warning from Rome caused a tremendous reaction. For weeks it was not believed that the Vatican had named the Y.M.C.A., and finally in February, 1921, Cardinal Merry del Val's letter was made public:

The Most Eminent and Reverend Cardinals who are, like the writer whose name is subjoined, inquisitors-general in matters of faith and morals, desire that the Ordinaries should pay vigilant attention to the manner in which certain new non-Catholic associations, by the aid of their members of every nationality, have been accustomed now and for some time to lay dangerous snares for the Faithful, especially the young folk.

They provide in abundance the facilities of every kind which apparently aim only at physical culture and intellectual and moral training, but in point of fact corrupt the integrity of the Catholic Faith and snatch away children from the Church, their Mother.

. . . On the pretence of bringing light to young folk, they turn them away from the teaching of the Church established by God, the light of truth, and incite them to seek severance from their own consciences and within the narrow circuit of human reason the light which should guide them.

. . . Among these societies it will suffice to mention that which, having given birth to many others, is the most widespread (by reason especially of the important services which it rendered to a large number of unhappy people in the course of the terrible war) and disposes

of the most considerable resources; we mean the society called the Young Men's Christian Association and in abbreviated form the Y.M.C.A.

Non-Catholics of good faith give it their support inadvertently, considering it an organization of advantage to all, or at least inoffensive to everyone, and it is also supported by certain Catholics who are too confident, and are ignorant of what it is in reality; for this society professes a sincere love of young folk, as if nothing were dearer to it than the promotion of their corporal and spiritual interests; but at the same time it shapes their Faith, since, by its own confession, it proposes to purify it and to impart a more perfect knowledge of real life by placing itself above every Church and outside every religious denomination!

. . . Therefore all of you who have received from Heaven the special mandate to govern the flock of the Master are implored by this Congregation to employ all your zeal in preserving your young folk from the contagion of every society of this kind, whose good works, presented in the name of Christ, endanger the most precious gift that the grace of Christ has given them.

Put the imprudent on their guard and strengthen the souls of those whose Faith is vacillating. . . . The Sacred Congregation asks that in each region an official act of the Hierarchy declare duly forbidden all the daily organs, periodicals, and other publications of these societies of which the pernicious character is manifest, with a view of sowing in the souls of Catholics the errors of rationalism and religious indifference. . . . 5 November, 1920 R. Card. Merry del Val, Secretary.

Protestant Americans deplored the action of the Vatican. "It seems unfortunate," said a representative spokesman, Shailer Mathews, "that Benedict XV should have judged it necessary to publish his condemnation of the Y.M.C.A. He regards it as using its social work as a basis for proselytizing among those who are members of the Roman Catholic Church. . . . It is not difficult to see how in an excessively Roman Catholic country the preaching of Christianity in any form other than that of Roman Catholicism might be regarded as proselytism by ecclesiastical power. . . ."

The Y.M.C.A., however, continued to function in Italy for sev-



eral years; then came Mussolini, the atheist and anti-clerical, who had been reading Machiavelli's warning that it is wisest for a prince or tyrant to have the Church on his side if he would rule long and successfully. Years before the signing of the Lateran accords, when Mussolini was restoring the crucifix in the schools and making other friendly advances to the pope, he told the Y.M.C.A. to shut up and intimated to the Methodists that they had better cease their overtopping Monte Mario adventure. The clubhouses closed one by one and the church was finally outlawed.

In 1919 the Evangelical Protestant Society was organized in America to "wage war on the pope." It was not the first and certainly not the last of such organizations. In 1912 the "Guardians of Liberty" had been formed for a similar purpose and supported by such gentlemen as Lieut.-Gen. Nelson A. Miles, Maj.-Gen. D. E. Sickles, Rear Admiral G. W. Baird, and ex-Congressman Charles D. Haines. This was their declaration of principles:

First—We unite as a non-sectarian, non-partisan moral force to promote patriotism and a sacred regard for the welfare of our country. . . . We hold that no citizen is a true patriot who owes superior temporal allegiance to any power above that of his obligation to the principles of the Constitution of the United States.

Second—As the fathers established, so are we resolved to maintain the complete separation of Church and state.

Third—We deny the right of any political or ecclesiastical organization to manipulate or control the sovereign citizenship of our people.

Fourth—We unite to protect and preserve the free institutions of our country, especially our public educational system, against any foreign or menacing influence, and we particularly protest against the diversion of any public funds or lands to any religious purpose whatever.

In the opinion of Cardinal Gibbons the "Guardians of Liberty" were but attempting "to revive the bigotry of the A.P.A." but in the opinion of certain Protestant publications the organization was "clearly one of many efforts now being made in America to ward off what is regarded by some as the Roman Catholic 'peril.'"

It gives corporate expression to the Presbyterian General Assembly's resolution of last year viewing 'with serious concern the growth and pernicious activity' of Roman Catholicism, and deploring 'the apathy of all public men concerning this menace.'"

With the coming of the European War and the participation of the United States, the "Guardians of Liberty" disappeared. In the peace which followed there was grand talk about the melting-pot and the abolition of racial and religious lines and the brotherhood of humanity and all that, and suddenly there appeared, masked and in masses, the new Ku Klux Klan with its banner labelled "Patriotism." This is the Klan's indictment of the Roman Catholic Church in America as officially written by the Imperial Wizard and Emperor of the Knights of the K.K.K., Hiram Wesley Evans:

One more point about the present attitude of the old-stock American: he has revived and increased his long-standing distrust of the Roman Catholic Church. . . . Our quarrel with the Catholics is not religious but political. The Nordic race is, as is well known, almost entirely Protestant, and there remains in its mental heritage an anti-Catholic attitude based on lack of sympathy with the Catholic psychology, on the historic opposition of the Roman Church to the Nordic's struggle for freedom and achievement, and on the memories of persecutions. But this strictly religious prejudice is not now active in America, and so far as I can learn, never has been. I do not know of a single manifestation in recent times of hostility to any Catholic Church because of its beliefs, nor to any Catholic because of his religion.

. . . The real indictment against the Roman Church is that it is, fundamentally and irredeemably, in its leadership, in politics, in thought, and largely in membership, actually and actively alien, un-American and usually anti-American. The old-stock Americans . . . see in the Roman Church today the chief leader of alienism, and the most dangerous alien power with a foothold inside our boundaries. It is this and nothing less that has revived hostility to Catholicism. By no stretch of the imagination can it be called fairly religious prejudice. . . .

We Americans see many evidences of Catholic alienism. We believe that its official position and its dogma, its theocratic autocracy and its claim to full authority in temporal as well as spiritual matters, all

make it impossible for it as a Church, or for its members if they obey it, to coöperate in a free democracy in which Church and state have been separated. It is true that in this country the Roman Church speaks very softly on these points, so that many Catholics do not know them. It is also true that the Roman priests preach Americanism, subject to their own conception of Americanism, of course. But the Roman Church itself makes a point of the divine and unalterable character of its dogma, it has never seen fit to abandon officially any of these un-American attitudes, and it still teaches them in other countries. . . .

The pope and the whole hierarchy have been for centuries almost wholly Italian. . . . The autocratic nature of the Catholic Church organization and its suppression of free conscience or free decision need not be discussed; they are unquestioned. Thus it is fundamental to the Roman Church to demand a supreme loyalty, overshadowing national or race loyalty, to a power that is inevitably alien, and which at the best must inevitably inculcate ideals un-American if not actively anti-American.

We find, too, that even in America the majority of the leaders and of the priests of the Roman Church are either foreign born, or of foreign parentage and training. . . . They, like other aliens, are unable to teach Americanism if they wish. . . .

Also, the Roman Church seems to take pains to prevent the assimilation of these (alien) people. Its parochial schools, its foreign-born priests, the obstacles it places in the way of marriage with Protestants unless the children are bound in advance to Romanism, its persistent use of the foreign languages in church and school, its habit of grouping aliens together and thus creating insoluble alien masses—all these things strongly impede Americanization. Of course they also strengthen and solidify the Catholic Church, and make its work easier, and so are very natural, but the fact remains that they are hostile to Americanism.

Finally, there is the undeniable fact that the Roman Church takes an active part in American politics. It has not been content to accept in good faith the separation of Church and state, and constantly tries through political means to win advantage for itself and its people—in other words, to be a political power in America, as well as a spiritual power. Denials of Catholic activity in politics are too absurd to

need discussion. The "Catholic vote" is as well recognized a factor as the "dry vote." All politicians take it for granted.

The facts are that almost everywhere, and especially in the great industrial centres where the Catholics are strongest, they vote almost as a unit, under control of leaders of their own faith, always in support of the interests of the Catholic Church and of Catholic candidates without regard to other interests, and always also in support of alienism whenever there is an issue raised. They vote, in short, not as American citizens, but as aliens and Catholics! They form the biggest, strongest, most cohesive of all the alien *blocs*. On many occasions they form alliances with other alien *blocs* against American interests, as with the Jews in New York today, and with others in the case of the recent opposition to immigration restriction. Incidentally they have been responsible for some of the worst abuses in American politics, and today are the chief support of such machines as that of Brennan in Chicago, Curley in Boston and Tammany in New York.

All this might occur without direct sanction from the Roman Church, though that would not make it less a "Catholic" menace. But the evidence is that the Church acts directly and often controls these activities. The appearance of Roman clergy in "inside" political councils, the occasional necessity of "seeing" a prelate to accomplish political results, and above all the fact that during the fight in the Democratic National Convention of 1924 the hotel lobbies and corridors of Madison Square Garden were suddenly black with priests, all seem to prove that the Catholic Church acts in politics *as a Church*, and that it must bear responsibility for these vile evils.

This is the indictment of the old-stock Americans against the Roman Church. If at any time it should clear its skirts, should prove its willingness to become American in America, and to be politically an equal among equals with other religious bodies, then Americans would make no indictment of it whatever. But until it *does these things* it must be opposed as must all other agencies which stand against America's destiny.

If, today, the pretensions of the Ku Klux Klan seem puerile and have the odour of things long dead, it must not be forgotten that only a few years ago they were the determining factor in state if not national politics.

The attack by Wizard Evans was answered by Martin J. Scott, S.J., of the College of St. Francis Xavier of New York:

Right information is the best remedy for misunderstanding. The more the Catholic Church is understood the more she stands forth as the upholder of truth and patriotism. . . .

One of the accusations brought against the Catholic Church is that her members do not amalgamate. . . .

Catholics are everywhere and in every activity. . . . If they are not conspicuous in certain exclusive social clubs, or in certain financial circles, it is not because they do not amalgamate, but because as yet they have not in large numbers acquired certain conventional assets which are a perquisite for association with these organizations or circles. . . .

In proportion to their numbers and wealth, Catholics have done more for education than any other body of our citizens. . . . Culture is ordinarily the child of wealth and leisure. By degrees, as they acquire wealth, and have the leisure, Catholics are becoming conspicuous for their culture. . . .

Catholics are not opposed to public schools because they are public, but because they are lacking in what Catholics hold to be essential in education. Every branch taught in the public school is taught in the parochial school, and just as well, if not better, as is apparent from the public records. . . . Education without religion may make clever and capable people. But the country is full of clever and capable people who are a menace to it. . . . "Religion and education should go hand in hand to achieve the final goal of a life better fitted to success" (Dr. Charles Gray Shaw, head of the department of philosophy, New York University). It is because the Catholic Church realizes the necessity of religion in the right education of her children that she maintains parochial schools. . . .

Catholic education fosters patriotism.

A fundamental tenet of the Catholic faith is reverence for authority. A man cannot be a good Catholic and a bad citizen. The late Mark Hanna once said that the two greatest supports of the Constitution were the United States Supreme Court and the Catholic Church. . . . Indeed, it is to be feared that one reason for recent hostility to the Catholic Church was the enviable record for patriotism Catholics made in the trying period of the Great War.

... Among the bitterest assailants of Catholics for their expression of opinion regarding the methods of carrying out the Prohibition Amendment are those who have done their best to make null and void the Constitutional Amendment granting the electoral franchise to our coloured citizens.

... I firmly believe that in their hearts the various anti-Catholic organizations know that the training of the parochial school is admirable and patriotic. Ordinarily they assail the parochial school and Catholicity because they see their own creeds vanishing and do not want to witness the triumph of the Catholic faith. If Catholicity were weak and insignificant it would not be assailed.

Where the parish school flourishes religion flourishes. . . .

... The Catholic Church is not a foreign power, unless we consider Christ a foreigner. The Catholic Church is universal. Its head is at Rome. Its power is spiritual. It does not advise its members politically. It does not seek to interfere with any just government. . . . One of the accusations made by those who are misinformed is that the Pope endeavors to interfere politically in our Government. . . . The history of every country in the world shows that Catholics have the widest possible latitude in their political life. If at any time they felt obliged to take a stand on certain measures, it is not because as Catholics they form a political party, but because as Christians they feel it a duty. Individual Catholics, like those of every creed, may or may not live up to their religious ideals. . . . But in proportion as a Catholic is true to his faith, government will find in him the firm support of law and order and the highest type of patriot. . . .

Let me conclude with the remarks of the greatest American of them all, next to Washington. Abraham Lincoln in a letter to Joshua Speed, August 24, 1855, referring to an organization similar to the Ku Klux Klan said:

"I am not a Know-Nothing, that is certain. How could I be? How can any man who abhors oppression of negroes be in favour of degrading classes of white people? Our progress in degeneracy appears to me pretty rapid. As a nation we began by declaring that 'All men are created equal.' We now practically read it, 'All men are created equal, except negroes.' When the Know-Nothings get control, it will read, 'All men are created equal except negroes and foreigners and Catholics.' When it comes to this, I shall prefer emigrating to some country where they make no pretence of loving liberty."

Impartial, read. The case rests. It is for you to decide which is un-American, Catholic citizenry or the Ku Klux Klan.

In 1929, just when the pope had affirmed that Protestantism was "getting more and more exhausted . . . its own sterility is inspiring many souls with a nostalgia for Catholicism. . . . Protestantism goes from denial to denial," there was a Ku Klux Klavern in Bargaintown, New Jersey, where one of the notorious leaders of American thought, Senator Heflin, denied that he was intolerant, denied he was a bigot, and confirmed his statement that there was a great international plot of which the leaders were Mussolini, Al Smith, and the pope, and that its purpose was to seize the whole world and make it safe for the Roman Catholic Church, and that this vile conspiracy was thwarted just in the nick of time in the defeat of Al Smith by the American electorate!

The candidacy of Alfred E. Smith in 1928, although not the first bid for the Presidency by a Catholic, served to bring into the open not only the bigotry and intolerance of certain elements in American national life, but also the honest doubts of tolerant and broad-minded millions. The former were whispering, "We do not want the pope in the White House"; the latter were asking, frankly, "Can a Catholic be both a loyal American and a devout Catholic?"

This issue was raised to national attention by Charles C. Marshall, a noted lawyer, writer, and Protestant authority on the Catholic Church, who in the *Atlantic Monthly* questioned Governor Smith's American Catholicism. Mr. Marshall's view is that the Church, being grounded in ecclesiastical absolutism and claiming divine right over the religious and moral fields, and the state which proclaims freedom of conscience and liberty of public opinion, are fundamentally opposed and cannot be reconciled. Of Mr. Smith he demanded numerous answers regarding allegiance to Rome and numerous explanations of the encyclicals of the popes, the Syllabus of Pius IX, the canon law, etc. Mr. Smith replied:

In your open letter to me . . . you "impute" to American Catholics

views which if held by them would leave open to question the loyalty and devotion to this country and its Constitution of more than 20,000,000 American Catholic citizens. . . . You imply that there is a conflict between religious loyalty to the Catholic faith and patriotic loyalty to the United States. . . . No such thing as that is true. . . . I have never known any conflict between my official duties and my religious belief. No such conflict could exist. . . . If there were a conflict, I, of all men, could not have escaped it. . . .

. . . By what right do you ask me to assume responsibility for every statement that may be made in any encyclical letter? As you find in the Catholic Encyclopedia, these encyclicals are not articles of our faith. The Syllabus of Pope Pius IX which you quote on the possible conflict between Church and state is decreed by Cardinal Newman to have "no dogmatic force."

. . . Your first proposition is that Catholics believe that other religions should, in the United States, be tolerated only as a matter of favour and that there should be an established Church. . . .

Governor Smith quotes various Church authorities to the effect that the proposition of Pope Pius IX condemning the toleration of non-Catholic sects does not now apply, concluding this argument with quoting Cardinal Gibbons: "American Catholics rejoice in our separation of Church and state, and I can conceive no combination of circumstances likely to arise which would make a union desirable for either Church or state. . . . For ourselves we thank God that we live in America." Also he quotes Dr. John A. Ryan, professor of moral theology at the Catholic University of America: "Pope Pius IX did not intend to declare that separation is always inadvisable, for he had more than once expressed his satisfaction with the arrangement obtaining in the United States."

After a lengthy discussion of education, parochial and lay, the Marlborough case before the Rota, the charge that it was the purpose of organized Catholics to seek intervention by the United States in Mexico, etc., the governor concludes with the statement of his—and, it may be added, the American Catholic—credo:

I summarize my creed as an American Catholic. I believe in the worship of God according to the faith and practice of the Roman Catholic Church. I recognize no power in the institutions of my



Church to interfere with the operations of the Constitution of the United States or the enforcement of the law of the land. I believe in absolute freedom of conscience for all men and in equality of all Churches, all sects, and all beliefs before the law as a matter of right and not as a matter of favour. I believe in the absolute separation of Church and state and in the strict enforcement of the provisions of the Constitution that Congress shall make no law respecting an establishment of religion or prohibiting the free exercise thereof. I believe that no tribunal of any Church has any power to make any decree of any force in the law of the land, other than to establish the status of its own communicants within its own Church. I believe in the support of the public school as one of the corner stones of American liberty. I believe in the right of every parent to choose whether his child shall be educated in the public school or in the religious school supported by those of his faith. I believe in the principle of non-interference by this country in the internal affairs of other nations and that we should stand steadfastly against any such interference by whosoever it may be urged. And I believe in the common brotherhood of man under the common fatherhood of God.

In this spirit I join with fellow Americans of all creeds in a fervent prayer that never again in this land will any public servant be challenged because of the faith in which he has tried to walk humbly with his God.

The sincerity and the honourable intentions of Governor Smith were immediately admitted by Mr. Marshall when he returned to the attack. But, continued the jurist, although the candidate would certainly act in accordance with his declarations if elected President, his views remain opposed to the doctrines of the Catholic Church.

Governor Smith's letter [he says in summing up], gave unqualified assurance that in his discharge of the highest civic trust from the American people he would never allow his loyalty to his Church to conflict with his loyalty to the state, as the state (not the Church) defined such loyalty. . . . He denied his own acceptance, or asserted his unconsciousness, of doctrines and dogmas that the public mind, in large part, commonly associated with Roman Catholicism. He claimed that the "imputations" in the letter he was answering were "false."

He in effect disclaimed responsibility for the moral teaching of the popes' encyclical letters, which his Church holds binding *de fide* on the obedience of its members, and averred that he had never heard of specific statements by late popes, including the momentous Syllabus of Pope Pius IX. He dispensed with all reference to the decrees of the Vatican Council of 1870 and made no reference to the present-day profession of faith. All this disclosed an independence of thought and purpose, a recognition of the supremacy of the individual conscience, a determination to hold to what the Church ought to teach rather than to what it actually teaches; and, in the opinion of the public, it revealed a man of sincere and honest intent to do, in the discharge of a high trust which might be confided to him by the state, what the doctrine of the state might demand in conflict with the doctrine and dogma of his Church. . . .

The comment of the press was that all this indicated the existence of something that was curiously designated as "American Catholicism." Indeed, it was so designated in the letter.

Mr. Marshall then asks whether the United States enjoys special privileges or dispensations from the laws of the Catholic Church.

He furthermore takes up the demand made by a Catholic writer that proofs be given that the decrees of the Vatican Council are intended to apply to American conditions.

But [continues Mr. Marshall] it will take a higher authority than Dr. Healey to convince the students of religious history that in the mind of Pope Pius XI, his Curia and his hierarchy, American Catholics are released by the operation of American political principles from the burden of papal supremacy and infallibility in accordance with the decrees of the Vatican Council.

It would be an anomalous situation in the long history of that Church, which has defined the great test of its faith to be that it has been believed by all Catholics, at all times, in all places, if its membership in the United States could develop for itself an American Catholicism that involved a departure from the universal doctrine of the Church, and that in 1927 an American statesman could assert with œcumenical authority convictions that seem to so many of his countrymen in disregard of those very decrees of the Church which the supreme pontiff in 1928 declared to be as integral in the faith as the Incarnation of Jesus Christ.

The defeat of Governor Smith, in the opinion of Protestant America, did not answer the question whether a citizen could be a loyal patriot and a devout Catholic; it, moreover, revived the theory of "Americanism" in the Roman Church. The *Congregationalist*, for example, was of the opinion that "here in America, Roman Catholic authority, theory, and practice are being profoundly modified—so much so that it becomes apparent that there is developing in this country a Catholicism that, except in its historic associations and its formal connexions, is more American than Roman." The *Fortnightly Review*, London, commenting on the fact that the whole American Catholic press accepted Smith's credo, said this caused uneasiness and anxiety in Rome because "the terrible blight of Americanism is slowly destroying the vitality of Catholic faith in the midst of seeming prosperity." So much for non-Catholic opinion. So much for non-Catholic opinion. An interesting opinion is expressed by one who officiated for many years as a priest of the Catholic Church, and a Jesuit, namely, E. Boyd Barrett.

The defeat that Governor Smith suffered last November [he wrote] in no way mitigates the seriousness of the crisis which faces the Catholic Church; if anything it intensifies it. He carried with him, as far as one can judge, 95 per cent of the Catholic vote, and in every Catholic vote for him there was an implicit endorsement of his credo and to no little extent a challenge to Rome. For the first time in history a great Catholic popular vote has been freely, conscientiously, and independently taken by the bishops, priests, religious, and lay Catholics of a nation on an issue which clearly involved papal claims. And the result was, as I say, 95 per cent in favour of "the American doctrine of the absolute separation of Church and state."

American Catholicism (the Catholicism of Gibbons, Ireland, Keane, O'Connell, O'Gorman, and Alfred E. Smith) . . . amounts to a veritable religious faith in the American ideal of democracy. This faith found its most striking illustrations in the chorus of Catholic applause which greeted the publication in the *Atlantic Monthly* of Governor Smith's politico-religious credo. . . . Nevertheless, in that credo there were many very daring statements; there were declarations concerning equality of religions, freedom of education and so forth, which, while

thoroughly in consonance with American ideals of democracy, were much less clearly in consonance with the Vatican decrees and certain teachings of Pius IX's Syllabus.

Barrett holds it is the clearly defined doctrine of the Church that "the state ought not to be separated from the Church" and that it is still expedient that "the Catholic religion should be held as the only religion of a state, to the exclusion of all others." He therefore questions the consistency of adhering to the American principle of democracy and the constitutions of the Catholic Church. And to show how far away from Rome certain American priests have travelled, he quotes Father Duffy as saying: "If the pope were a civil ruler and waged war on the United States I would take up arms against him, and the Sixty-ninth Regiment would be the first to combat him!"; also Father McClorey, S.J., preaching in the presence of Cardinal Hayes, "If the pope should war with America, we would take up arms against him as the French and other Europeans did in past centuries." "Here," concludes Barrett, "unchanged in form, undiminished in force, we have the old American Catholic challenge to papal authority."

"On the question of the temporal power of the pope—the eternal Roman question"—continues the Catholic writer—"if we are to believe Mr. Michael Williams' (*Catholicism and the Modern Mind*) 'the overwhelming (Catholic) American doctrine' is 'firmly against the presumption of the pope's acknowledged place as head of a state.' However creditable to the political wisdom of American Catholics this view may be, it is in distinct disaccord with Roman feelings and Roman teachings."

Barrett believes the American Catholic espousal of the democracy of the United States Constitution is very much like the "modernism" and the "novelty" which Pius X condemned, especially in the teachings of Fathers Tyrrell and Loisy, and he is certain that Governor Smith's repetition of his credo, the absolute separation of Church and state, in his Baltimore speech, under the eyes of Archbishop Curley, would have been rebuked if an Englishman had done so under the eyes of Cardinal Bourne or a Frenchman before Cardinal Dubois.

To Barrett's general conclusion that "Americans play fast and loose with Roman doctrine" James J. Walsh, M.D., gives the orthodox Catholic denial. Incidentally he claims that the quotation of Father McClorey was garbled. He denies that American Catholics are moving towards a break with Rome and denies the "extraordinary idea" that there is something in Americanism which is inimical to and irreconcilable with Roman Catholicism. He finds "Catholics here are growing more Roman every generation" and gives as proof the overwhelming amount which the United States contributes to the Peter's Pence collections and the visit of 100,000 Americans to Rome for the 1925 Holy Year celebration.

For the majority of Catholics in America the question of Church *versus* state is amply answered in the great encyclical of Leo XIII, *Immortale Dei*, "The Christian Constitution of States," in the following two paragraphs:

"The Almighty has appointed the charge of the human race between two powers, the Ecclesiastical and the Civil, the one being set over Divine, the other over human beings; each in its kind is supreme."

"Jesus Christ has Himself given command that what is Cæsar's is to be rendered to Cæsar, and that what belongs to God is to be rendered to God."

There remains the question whether there is something inherent in American history and tradition, something fundamental in American law and custom, which has affected the international and universal Catholic Church. The founding of the American Colonies indeed produced a new situation for the Old World; they were Puritan or Calvinistic, they were democratic and dedicated to religious liberty, in most cases, and they were opposed to interference by the nations from which they sprang. Therefore patriots like the Carrolls, it is pointed out by Gino Speranza, from the earliest days of the nation tried to nationalize their Church and secure for it as much self-government as they could wrest from Rome. No Church or sect, he concludes, can

be "profoundly and intimately American which in its aspirations and ecclesiastical organization lacks the spirit of that republican Christianity which herein has been called the Religion of American Democracy."

And in the opinion of the noted Catholic writer Hilaire Belloc the final conflict "*the* necessary conflict between the civil state and the Catholic Church where the two are not *identified*," a conflict which has disturbed Europe for centuries, must still take place in the United States because "the Catholic Church is in its root principles at issue with the civic definition both of freedom and of authority. For the purpose of the state, religion is either a universally admitted system or a matter of individual choice. But by the definition which is the very soul of Catholicism, religion must be for the Catholic, first, a supreme authority superior to any claims of the state; secondly, a corporate thing and not an individual thing; thirdly, a thing dependent upon authority, and not upon a personal mood; fourthly, a guaranty of individual freedom in all that is not of faith.

"In general that conflict (between the civil state and the Catholic Church), with which Europe is acquainted to the full and which has filled the history of two thousand years from the time of Nero to our own, is inevitable. . . . No one can know the United States without admitting that when the conflict shall there arise, an equilibrium will not be established or preserved, for the conflict will be novel and will seem monstrous. . . . The chief political problem presented by religion has, then, still to be solved in the New World. . . . Presented the problem certainly will be, and in one or other of the many fashions, stable or unstable, more or less tragic, it will have to be solved. . . . The new and separate spirit which has made America, which created a spiritual condition peculiar to that continent, may produce, perhaps will soon produce, at any rate *tends* to produce, some quite unique experiment in the field of religion."

It was the great Leo who pointed out that "the Church had never neglected to adapt itself to the genius of nations." And now the question arises whether the Catholic Church, which has be-

come through the centuries and despite Avignon so completely identified with Rome, can ever be de-Italianized (a wish which many American Catholics have expressed or suppressed) or, far beyond that, so internationalized, that an American cardinal will, for the first time in twenty centuries of Church history, sit in the seat of Saint Peter.

## CHAPTER XX

### *The Vatican and Catholic Political Parties*

THE RISE OF THE CATHOLIC POLITICAL PARTIES, THEIR GREAT PROGRESS after the war, and their most recent vicissitudes, could hardly have been foreseen by the great Pope Leo XIII, who in his encyclical *Rerum Novarum*, cleared the road for Catholic participation in modern social movements.

While papal nuncio in Brussels, Leo already planned for the religious utilization of organized Catholicity; on his election he saw clearly that a new order, politically, industrially, and, above all, socially, was in the process of parturition, and he acted in accordance with the changing times. He was called a pope of the "Left," but he had the soul of a good conservative. He wished to Christianize the new order which was forming in the shadows, himself to baptize the "Dauphin of modern times," Democracy.

Leo approved of associations of workmen and employers, separately or jointly. He approved of labour unions, composed of Catholics, which would rival those composed of Socialists. Christian unions immediately sprang up in Germany. In Italy the Christian-Democratic movement was born a few years after the famous encyclical, and from democratic movements and activities of unions, the next step was a Catholic political party.

In Germany, the Centrum, or middle-of-the-road, party became the model for others, notably the Popolari in Italy. In Belgium the Catholic Party called itself Christian-Democrat, and in Austria, Christian-Socialist. The constituency in all cases was about 100 per cent Catholic, and priests and prelates were members and leaders. Outside the *Kulturkampf* of the Germans there were other important reasons for the existence of these parties. They were the political bulwarks of Catholicism in the modern world.



Marxian Socialism had its first successes in Germany, seeking, with its materialistic interpretation of life and its plan of revolutionary action, to win the masses. In ideology and activities, this movement was the open enemy of Catholic philosophy. But the Catholic Church was early in realizing it would have to deal with the question of the new industrialism and the awakening proletariat, that it would have to measure the Christian conception with the Marxian conception and prove it superior, or lose the vast mass of the populace which modern industrial progress had created and exploited and robbed of any pride in work or joy in creation. Today it is quite simple to see that situation arising in the last quarter of the nineteenth century, and see it quite whole, and imagine what steps a wise leader might have taken to gain by it; Leo acted surely and immediately, with great foresight, at a time all was political fog and social chaos.

The question naturally arises, how deeply was the Vatican interested in the Catholic parties, did it control their activities and direct all their actions? Opponent parties have always believed and still believe that the pope and his entourage are completely and absolutely allied with all these national political expressions, and that the cardinals and nuncios receive orders and advice from Rome which they relay to the priests and politicians who direct the parties. This view is contradicted. Even in Rome itself the Vatican never had any understanding, secret or open, with the Popolari, Don Sturzo affirms, and it was his aim never to drag the Church into party strife in Italy. "Those few ecclesiastics who occupied themselves with politics," he states, "did so as free citizens, as happens in every state in the world, from France, where four priests are deputies, to Germany, where a priest has been minister for several years, and Austria, where Monsignor Seipel was chancellor. Such priests neither intended to represent the Church nor to prejudice her interests by their activities."

But if one accepts without any reserve the claim that the Vatican has never been involved with the creation and activities of the Catholic political parties, can one also believe that the Church has no say in the dissolution of those parties? Because it is a fact, as

will be shown later, that under Pius XI a great change came and the political parties which flourished throughout the post-bellum period are either in retreat or have ceased to exist altogether. The two greatest, the Italian and the German, have disappeared—because the Vatican so ordered. Whatever the power of Mussolini had been, he could not have destroyed the Popolari without the pope's consent, and Hitler only the other day, realizing that the only refuge of liberty was in the Centrum, was forced to send an envoy to the Vatican to arrange terms by which he could destroy that bulwark also.

In the copy of Machiavelli's *Prince*, which bears the annotations of Mussolini, there is underlined the axiom, "Only the armed prophets have conquered and the unarmed have always failed." Rifles and bludgeons carried the Duce into office; unarmed, there then existed a greater prophet in Italy, the Reverend Father Luigi Sturzo, who but for the violence of his political opponent would probably rule the nation today. The very antithesis of Mussolini in appearance, character, behaviour, and thought, Don Sturzo is a Christian philosopher who has been likened to Savonarola, a radical social reformer, a pacifist, candid, fearless, brilliant, and above all else an honest man. He is a man of the South, fanatic in his belief in human liberty, fiery in his struggle for his people, the poor and oppressed peasants whom he loved as brothers. Thin, almost gaunt, his eager, passionate, sincere face is also distinguished by a long strong nose and deep brown eyes, candid and radiant, betraying a spirit on fire with the great idea of Christian brotherhood. In his hands restless, febrile, and imperious, he seemed always to be moulding a new universe.

This active, dogmatic, and fearless priest at about the age of forty was elected *sindaco*, or mayor, of his little Sicilian town, Caltagirone, when the war ended; in 1922 he was in Rome, as usual without money, without luxury, without official power, but enforcing his will on the ministry which ruled the nation; and one year later he was a recluse in a monastery, on his way to foreign lands and exile.

This tragic history of Luigi Sturzo is also the tragic history of the Catholic Party of Italy.

The *non expedit* (February 29, 1868) was the Vatican's reply to the query whether Catholics in Italy could participate in the elections. It resulted in *ne elettori, ne eletti*, neither elected nor electors, and although some exceptions were made in 1904 the restrictions were well enforced in the 1909 and 1913 elections. During the war the appointment of Signor Filippo Meda to the coalition cabinet was significant. Meda was a militant Catholic and head of the *Azione Cattolica*.

January 18, 1919, for the purpose of forming an independent political party inspired by the ideals of Christian democracy, Don Sturzo issued a national appeal:

To all men free and strong, who, in this grave hour, feel the high duty of coöperating for the supreme needs of the Fatherland. . . .

To uphold the political and moral programme, the patrimony of the Christian people. . . .

. . . As the soul of the new society, the true sense of liberty responding to the civil maturity of our people and the highest development of its energies; religious liberty not only for the individual, but also for the Church, for the unfolding of her spiritual mission in the world; liberty of teaching without a state monopoly; liberty of class organization without preference or privilege for any party; communal and local liberties in accordance with the glorious Italian traditions. . . .

Ten months after the formation of the Partito Popolari Italiano, the pope withdrew the *non expedit*. The new party went into the 1919 elections with a threefold programme: liberty, religious, educational, and administrative; the moral and social defence of the working-classes; a decentralized state with municipal and regional autonomy. It opposed post-war nationalism, experiments in Bolshevism and state Socialism, and surprisingly received 1,100,000 votes, carrying 98 seats in the Chamber of Deputies out of 508, and becoming the second largest political party.

Don Sturzo went from triumph to triumph. It had been his idea to forestall a radical revolution by peaceful parliamentary revolu-

tionary ways; he hoped to emancipate the peasants from rural slavery as bad as Russian serfdom, and to save the land from Socialism or Communism. His followers did not hesitate to adapt communistic methods at times. His followers sang:

*Avanti o popolo! Con fede franca,  
Bandiera bianca trionfera*

"the white flag [of the Catholic Church] will triumph," instead of the *bandiera rosso*, the red of Lenin.

In places, they seized land, marching behind Sturzo, who held the crucifix over their heads. They occupied Argentine Altabella in the name of Christ and Christian communism, dividing it to each according to his ability. In Calabria, the emancipation of the peasantry gained tremendously; the masses "hailed Don Sturzo as an apostle, obeyed him as a dictator." He had to walk fast through the streets of the towns, almost run, to keep the peasants from seizing and kissing his hand. At Caltagirone he collected a fund and paid for 2,000 acres of land which he divided among the poor. He demanded the partition of the big estates, a complete agrarian reform in Italy, but he opposed violent seizure and illegal confiscation.

*Vogliamo le fabbricce, vogliamo la terra,  
Ma senza guerra, ma senza guerra*

"We want the factories, we want the land, but without warfare," sang the Catholics. And everything was coming their way—without warfare.

In Milan a journalist named Benito Mussolini watched the peasants erupting over the fields and the industrial workers seizing the factories. He approved heartily. "We are for the land for the peasants. The state is a thing the peasant cannot understand. The peasant wants land; he must have his land." In places the newly formed Fascisti seized land, but, unlike Sturzo, Mussolini approved confiscation, but made no effort to pay. "The railways for the railwaymen," Mussolini announced as his slogan in 1920 when the Socialists called a strike of railway, telegraph, and tele-

phone workers. The Catholic Party opposed it. Mussolini urged the strikers to use more violent methods, accused them of not being "red" enough, and came face to face for the first time with the Catholic Party, which not only denounced the strike, but began to run the industries in an effort to break it.

The strike was a failure. The P.P.I. had another triumph and Mussolini took another lesson out of Machiavelli.

The crucial year in Italy's post-bellum history was 1920. It was the time of D'Annunzio's adventure in Fiume, the occupation of the metal factories and feudal lands, the rise of the Fascisti, the triumphs of the Catholics, a time of movement and distress and the rumblings of revolution. That autumn the "sly fox," Premier Giolitti, solved many problems. Secretly he permitted the Fascisti to obtain arms either from the D'Annunzio stores out of Fiume or from the military barracks. With guns and daggers they were to terrorize the Socialists and neutralize revolutionary agitation. When the municipal elections showed how effective Mussolini's *squadristi* had become, Don Sturzo, who was just as opposed to reactionary as to radical violence, withdrew his coöperation from the Giolitti Cabinet.

Giolitti then called a general election. He now stopped leaning on the Catholics and gave more licence to the Fascists. Mussolini entered Parliament at the head of a small group of deputies, but Don Sturzo had the satisfaction of seeing his party occupy 107 seats.

For two years political battles raged in Italy. The issue was not Bolshevism (as a myth later created by Mussolini, when he floated the Morgan loan in Wall Street, informed the American people), but the question of liberalism *versus* absolutism, with the Catholic Party defending the former, the Fascisti the latter. "Bolshevism," wrote Mussolini in 1921, "is conquered." The source of friction was "between the old oligarchic currents and the new wave of democratic life," declared Don Sturzo; "the latter is therefore labelled demagogy, or even with the Russian term, Bolshevism. . . . Industrialists and agrarians turned to Fascism as the only force that could save them. Thus was invented the fable that

Fascism in 1922 saved Italy from Bolshevism. There was no peril of Bolshevism in Italy and Fascism did not save her from it."

The truth is that Sturzo had fought Bolshevism to a standstill by gaining more than a million labourers and peasants for the Catholic Party and that Mussolini began fighting the Catholic Party because it was now the one strong liberal opposition to his scheme for dictatorship.

Both men came to the crises of their careers in 1922. Mussolini by force and intrigue destroyed whatever armed opposition was left among the radicals and obtained a promise of neutrality from the army. His *squadristi* descended upon town and village, burning, looting, killing. Catholics as well as Socialists were always the victims. Italo Balbo's *squadristi* stormed the Catholic clubs and centres in Argenta and murdered Don Minzoni, the parish priest. Fascism advanced with fire and sword, but Sturzo could only raise his crucifix. True servant of the Vatican and faithful to his own belief in pacifism, he could fight only as a son of the Church. At the time of the Conclave in February, 1922, Sturzo, with the greatest party in Parliament and with the Roman Question uppermost in national affairs, was at the height of his power. It was commonly said in Rome that Don Sturzo in one day might name *his* prime minister and *his* pope.

When Achille Ratti was chosen by the Conclave, Cardinal Mercier remarked that "Sturzo's candidate has been defeated."

The achievements of the Catholic Party at the time of Mussolini's seizure of power in October are thus listed by its founder:

1. Entry of the Catholic masses into political life after half a century of abstention.
2. Adoption of proportional representation in Parliament.
3. Opposition to the Socialists and to general political strikes.
4. Collaboration with the Liberals and Democratic-Liberals.
5. Brought the question of freedom of schools to public and Parliament.
6. Contributed to solution of agricultural and economic problems.
7. Supported administrative decentralization.

8. Supported solution of Yugoslav problem.
9. Realized the Fascist peril and took stand against armed violence.

Still hopeful it could transform Fascist violence into parliamentary energy, the Catholic Party agreed to coöperate in Mussolini's coalition government, but the political conception of *Popolarismo* being both in theory and practice the antithesis of *Fascismo*, it was decided to withdraw. "*Fascismo*," comments Sturzo, "came forward as an anti-constitutional and revolutionary movement based on violence and direct action. *Popolarismo* was law-abiding, constitutional, and moral. *Fascismo* considers itself the absolute and sole manifestation of political life. *Popolarismo* looks on itself as a political party with rights and duties like other parties functioning in the plane of the modern state. *Fascismo* is against liberty, against democracy, against the parliamentary state. *Popolarismo* is for liberty, for democracy, for the parliamentary state. *Fascismo* upholds the nationalist, plutocratic, and imperialist state. *Popolarismo* upholds free trade, international coöperation and peace."

In the spring of 1923, when clubs and headquarters of the Catholic Party and Catholic organizations were being burned and pillaged by the victorious Fascisti and when all the opposition parties were silent, the Popolari held their fourth congress, made an open defence of national and individual liberty, and reaffirmed their right to exist and their faith in the ideals of Christian Democracy. One of the resolutions calls upon Italians to "continue the fundamental battle for liberty against any curtailing perversion in the name of the pantheistic state or deified nation"; it invokes for the welfare of Italy "respect of human personality and the spirit of Christian brotherhood."

By now Mussolini was deep in a great plan to win the Catholic Church to Fascism. The armed prophets conquer. The unarmed prophet still stood in his way. While many parties still proclaimed liberty, only one fought for it. Although Sturzo preached passive resistance, the South of Italy replied to every Fascist attack on a Catholic institution with an attack on a Fascist club or headquar-

ters. In Calabria, in Sicily, in Naples, the Fascisti got the worst of most encounters. Mussolini then sent emissaries to the Vatican, asking that pressure be brought to check Don Sturzo and warning the Church that the Catholic religion would be the worst sufferer if strife continued. The pope's attention was called by Mussolini's envoys to the fact that Saint Peter's and other Church property had been protected by a special decree when the Duce took Rome, and that he was now willing to offer numerous concessions. The crucifix could be restored to the public schools and in the Colosseum, and religious teachings would be protected and perhaps in time be adopted by the state.

June 9, 1923, Don Sturzo sent his resignation to the pope. The next day he retired to the monastery of Montecassino, and later went into exile in London, where he lives, according to Professor Gilbert Murray, "recommended by Fascist newspapers to the special attention of any assassin who happens to be idle in England."

The negotiations between Mussolini and the Vatican which led to this sudden fall of the man who the year before was considered the strongest in Italy, and even now second only to the dictator, are still unknown, but it is fair to assume that the Machiavellian prince of the Blackshirts, in making friendly overtures and small promises to the Church, also threatened it with the usual Fascisti violence. Don Sturzo is reticent on this point only. Recounting the history of his party, he says, "At the critical moment the man [Don Sturzo, himself] who was believed by the Fascisti and philo-Fascisti alike to be the pivot of the situation, the convinced adversary of Mussolini, left the leadership of his party *because of obscure Fascist threats of armed reprisals against the Church. . . .*"

To the party the leader simply said his duties as a priest were conflicting with his office of political leadership. Complete confusion seized the Catholic ranks; everyone knew the part the Vatican had played, and all good Catholics had to obey without questioning. A triumvirate was elected; one of its members, Rodino, consulted the Vatican, which advised union with the Catho-



lic Nationalist Party. In the midst of this confusion Mussolini rushed through Parliament his electoral "reform" bill by which any party polling the greatest number of votes, provided it was a little more than 25 per cent, received 75 per cent of the seats in the Chamber as its reward. Ten Catholic deputies had the courage to oppose the bill and they were, after a secret conversation between high politicians, expelled from the P.P.I. During the 1924 electoral campaign the Fascist press concentrated its hatred against the Catholic Party, "the worst party," and Signor Finzi, the undersecretary of the home office, gave the signal, "Rather the Communists than the Popolari." The Communists, in fact, increased their representation from 12 to 19. The Fascist Party, by throwing its entire militia into service at the polling-booths and by intimidation and terrorism, was able to announce that it had obtained four and a half million votes against three million of the opposition. In June the Socialist leader Matteotti was murdered by five persons, three of whom were household friends of Mussolini, and two of whom confessed that the Duce had been implicated in the crime. When the opposition parties declared a boycott of Parliament in protest, the Popolari joined it. Eventually Mussolini outlawed the Opposition, and with the passage of the bill for a Totalitarian State, no party but the Fascist can now exist in Italy.

"The Popolari arose in the name of liberty," wrote Don Sturzo as an epilogue. "In the administrative and educational, in the social and religious field, it fought for liberty in the teeth of the Democrats, the Liberals, and the Socialists; . . . for liberty, based on the rights of human personality, is inalienable and cannot be surrendered for any material prosperity or alleged national right. . . ."

Is the Catholic Party dead? Occasionally it is heard of in the secret agitation against the dictatorship. Recently a group known as the Guelphs was broken up, many arrested, two sentenced to imprisonment. The name was twelfth century, the group a modern P.P.I. On Sturzo's retirement a Fascist news agency, the *Volta*, said: "Sturzo will be heard of again. . . . It is unlikely

that Mussolini will be seriously troubled. . . . His seat is firm; he straddles over prostrate Italy like a Colossus, with every liberty crushed out and only his own will for good or evil to consult." Don Sturzo remains silent. In exile. An unarmed prophet.

Armed with the ideals of Mussolini, millions of rifles, and Teutonic cruelty, Adolf Hitler, the new prophet in Germany, was able to destroy the Catholic Party in less months than it took years in the Duce's Italy.

The German party was the ideal Catholic action. It was, as its name indicated, the centre, the *Mittelpartei*, the party of the golden mean in a nation torn between extreme reaction and extreme radicalism. Its strength never wavered. While other parties rose, became powerful, and disappeared, the Centrum always elected between sixty and seventy members to the Reichstag and almost always had the deciding vote in national affairs. No government could exist long without its support or its promise of neutrality. It frequently gave Germany its chancellors, several of whom were its leading statesmen, and it may be admitted that the Centrum preserved the Republic.

Catholicism in Germany is not broken into little parcels, infinitely divided and assimilated, as in France. In France, as it has been said justly, Catholicism is a house of straw; in Germany it is a house of ingots. Moreover, in Germany, Catholicism responds to that section of popular temperament, less swift, less administrative, less centralized than the Prussian; it subscribes to the federalist and Weimarian tradition of the old Germany of the *Länder*; and this in turn strengthens its independent physiognomy—its ethnical existence, one might say. It had as its first leader the ugly, clever, crafty, tenacious Ludwig Windthorst who was able to organize and discipline an army of divergent forces into a Catholic Party—consisting of the rich aristocrats, the peasants, the little bourgeoisie and the syndicates.

Despite the seeming incongruity of the desires of this mass, Windthorst fashioned it into a unique fighting unit, and manoeuvred it with such science that the all-powerful Bismarck, who

at first treated it with contempt, applying the term "confessional party," was forced to surrender his projected May law, quit his *Kulturkampf*, and come to Canossa. Von Bülow had no better success. The "battle of the cult," Prussia's attempt, from 1870 to 1886, to impose state domination on the Roman Catholic clergy, having served to unify the Centrum, it grew stronger year by year. In 1918 it faced a great crisis. Some one had to sign the armistice, and that man and that party had to accept the ignorant and unfounded anger of a disillusioned and defeated people after such an act. Mathias Erzberger, Catholic leader, not only signed the armistice, but in the Weimar Constitutional Assembly which followed he helped draft the document establishing a republic. He was murdered by a nationalist.

Of the four Catholic chancellors who served the Republic, Joseph Wirth will be remembered for his attack upon the nationalists and monarchists. "The enemy stands on the Right," he proclaimed in the Reichstag at a time the Red hysteria was sweeping Europe and even America and all peoples feared the menace from Russia, from the Left. Dr. Wilhelm Marx, another leader of the Centrum, was chancellor four times and for a longer period than any man since the war. But Dr. Heinrich Brüning gained the greatest reputation among German political leaders, second only to the statesman Stresemann. During his chancellorship the party and the Republican idea were strengthened, and the Church gained many concessions. At times Brüning joined with the Socialists, at times with the parties of the right, and it was not politics but the inevitable economic disaster which the Dawes and Young Plans had prepared and which the 1929 world crisis precipitated, that drove Dr. Brüning into measures which opened the road for the great enemy of the Republic, Adolf Hitler.

On the 30th of January, 1933, Hitler, a Catholic by birth, was named chancellor of Germany. With the coming of the Nazis or National Socialists (Fascists) into power, the most complete division of the German people followed, the extreme Right being in office, the extreme Left in opposition, and the centre holding the balance of power.

Early in February, in preparation for a general election, Hitler addressed a letter to Monsignor Kaas, president of the German Catholic Party, asking for one year's toleration or support in Parliament. The priest replied with a list of questions, *inter alia* would he respect the public liberties of constitutional government. Hitler replied that inasmuch as he had not received the assurances he demanded, all discussion of the questions raised were useless, and "because I desire, before God and my conscience, to exhaust all possibilities in the constitutional field in saving the nation, I am obliged to address myself to the president of the Reich as a last resource." Monsignor Kaas's final letter restated the party's contention that the Reichstag had been dissolved for a mistaken reason, that the Centrum had not been consulted, and that it was possible to form a majority government and rule within the constitution.

The Centrum declared itself in opposition. The Prussian Minister of the Interior, Captain Hermann Goering, on February 17th, issued an order to the Prussian police to fire "mercilessly" upon manifestants of all parties hostile to the government. The Nazis were ordered to be supplied with arms and munitions for the purpose of crushing all opposition party meetings. It is true that the campaign of terrorism was aimed at Communists and Socialists, but Catholics also suffered. Adam Stegerwald, Catholic leader and former minister of labour, was assaulted by Nazis in Crefeld and the Centrum officially protested terrorism to President Hindenburg. Hitler was forced to disavow.

His first action in establishing the Third Empire on the 5th of March was to suppress the entire opposition press; every Communist paper was banned and 175 of the 200 Socialist journals suspended; but one opposition party was permitted to publish, and in the Catholic press Monsignor Kaas lifted a small voice against the fear, hatred, nationalism, and terrorism of the Hitler regime, which he predicted would "end in a new forest of Compiègne." The new government was called decidedly anti-Catholic despite Catholic Hitler as its head, and von Papen, who was a *cameriere segreto di spada e cappa* (a chamberlain of the papal

court), as its viceroy. Von Papen was listed as a "duplex personality" in the Catholic press, a man who valued political expediency above his religious faith. In Baden the activities of Catholics called from the Reich's Commissioner, Robert Wagner, the following threat: "Among the Catholics exist those miserable creatures who for fourteen years reduced the German people to misery and impotence. If the agitation continues, I will not shoot the Centrists, I will hang them."

The same spirit was manifest when the Nazi government issued pardons for Schulz and Tillessen, two monarchists who had assassinated Erzberger because he had signed the armistice in Compiègne and because his policy in office was restoration of friendly relations with the world, instead of a revenge war.

In April Hitler sent Vice-Chancellor von Papen to Rome to present Nazism's respects to the great Duce and to soothe the inquietude of the Vatican. No harm would befall Christianity or the Catholic faith, von Papen promised—at a time Hitler, having seized the Evangelical Church, was making it part of his militaristic, anti-Semitic, hypernationalist, and "Totalitarian" regime.

Hitler's next move paralleled Mussolini's of 1923. With one hand the dictators have always held out a sheaf of promises to the Catholic Church while with the other they battered the heads of Catholic laymen. The *squadristi* attacks such as Italo Balbo led in Argenta were copied by the Hitlerites in Munich. Thirty thousand persons, including representatives from the United States, England, Holland, Belgium and Switzerland, attending the National Convention of Roman Catholic Journeymen were attacked by Nazi storm troops. Numerous persons were clubbed, a dozen Catholic delegates were sent to the hospital, and Cardinal Faulhaber, archbishop of Munich, was prevented from celebrating pontifical high mass. A prelate named Zinzer was found dead in the convention hall. At night the Nazis stormed the Catholic Benevolent Association, where many delegates were asleep, driving all from the building and beating their heads with clubs. In the restaurants and on the streets, coats were torn from shoulders

of delegates. Munich police headquarters refused aid to the sister superior of the Catholic Institute who had telephoned that the Nazis had invaded the building and were threatening to set it on fire. Delegates arriving and leaving were met by Nazi troops, who insulted and assaulted them. The congress dissolved in complete disorder.

A conference of Catholic bishops held in Fulda, in the state of Hesse, issued a pastoral letter against the National Socialists, saying: "The Catholic Church has the right to expect that the state authorities, according to the example of authority within the Church, are not limiting human liberties more than is required for the general welfare, but are honouring themselves by doing justice to every citizen and leaving him in possession of his due—be it property, honour or liberty." The vicar-general of Mainz, Abbé Mayer, upholding the bishop's refusal to permit religious services at the burial of a Nazi terrorist, declared that "the German bishops unanimously have condemned National Socialism as a heresy, because its program, written and spoken, contains phrases which contradict the Catholic doctrine. Catholics are refused permission to join the party."

In three rapid strides within a week Hitler moved towards the destruction of the Catholic political movement in Germany which had survived Bismarck's attack and grown so strong that the dictator found it his greatest enemy. Again the Mussolini-Sturzo situation was equalled.

All the Christian trade-union leaders were ousted late in June. Catholic and Protestant alike were replaced by Nazis. Stegerwald and Heinrich Imbusch, who controlled the Catholic unions, were denounced as "hampering the progress of the great reconstruction of the German workers front" by the new Nazi trade-union commissar, Dr. Ley. The next day the new German-youth leader, Baldur von Schirach, dissolved all Boy Scout organizations, seizing their property. The Catholic hierarchy challenged Hitler's claim that youth belongs exclusively to the state; it branded the government's plan "inacceptable to the conscience of Catholic youth. The Church sees youth as the heart of its organization,

retaining the training rights of youth to itself." On the 26th of June the Munich police chief arrested all members of the Reichstag and Diet belonging to the Catholic Bavarian People's Party, and the doom of the Centrum was hinted in an address by Dr. Joseph Goebbels, Nazi minister of propaganda, who told editors and publishers that the Hitler plan of a one-party state left no room for Centrist experiments. "If the Centrum thinks it has to defend Catholic interests, we can tell them that the interests of Catholicism will probably be in better hands with us than in the hands of the Centre. In doing away with the Centre we are doing the Church a favor."

Von Papen having been sent to Rome to negotiate a concordat with Cardinal Pacelli, Catholic Adolf, issuing an indignant denial to the report that he had turned Lutheran and would head the Evangelical Church with the Kaiser's title, *Summus episcopus*, played the small Machiavellian game of violence in order to obtain better terms. He issued decrees dissolving the Württemberg Catholic Guard and the Catholic Evangelical Workers Clubs, and raided Catholic organizations in Prussia, among them the Peace League of German Catholics, the Catholic Storm Troops, the Windthorst League, the People's Union of Catholic Germany, and the Catholic Young Men's Association. Great Catholic journals were forced to renounce Catholic ties in order to remain alive.

To the Vatican von Papen offered a concordat for the Reich, replacing the three with individual states, and promised protection for the Catholic Church, its property and its doctrines. In return it demanded that the Vatican abandon the Catholic Party. To save Catholicism in Germany it became necessary to destroy the German Catholic Party. The Vatican faced a difficult decision. From semi-official sources it was reported Vatican City opinion summarized concordat negotiations in this fashion:

"The determination of Chancellor Hitler's government to eliminate the Catholic Party coincides with the Vatican's desire to disinterest itself from political parties and confine the activities of Catholics to the Catholic Action organization outside any political party."

The evening of July 5th, 1933, will remain in German modern history as marking the disappearance of the last liberal force hostile to the Totalitarian dictatorship. The Centrum had issued its own death warrant: "The political upheaval has placed German political life on an entirely new foundation, which leaves no room for party activities. The German Centre Party therefore immediately dissolves itself in agreement with Chancellor Hitler."

The Communist and Socialist parties had been conquered with fire and sword; the Hugenberg Nationalists by intrigue; the Catholics by agreement with the Vatican.

The Concordat consisted of thirty-five articles, combining all the terms of the old Prussian, Bavarian, and Baden concordats. The Church agrees to keep priests and religious associations out of German politics and the state agrees to permit Catholic religious associations, clerical and lay, to exist so long as they confine themselves to religious activities. Education, marriage, and the nomination of bishops are treated as in past concordats. Protestants or Catholic instruction is made compulsory according to the majority in each school district, the minority to receive instruction apart, in its own faith. The state agrees not to interfere with the pope's selection of bishops, but in practice the nominations will be offered for approval to the state. The custom of civil ceremony by a magistrate, preceding religious ceremony, is continued. No mention of a national church is included in the treaty.

Cardinal Pacelli, secretary of state, issued numerous reassurances to German Catholics. In one he said: "On account of the exclusion of Catholics as a political party from the public life of Germany, it is all the more necessary that the Catholics, deprived of political representation, find in the diplomatic pacts between the Holy See and the National Socialist Government guarantees which can assure them at least the maintenance of their position in the life of the nation. This necessity is felt by the Holy See, not only as a duty toward itself, but as a grave responsibility before the German Catholics, so that these cannot reprove the Vatican for having abandoned them in a moment of crisis."

Chancellor Hitler, issuing a decree freeing all priests from im-



prisonment and restoring liberty to certain organizations, prefixed it with a declaration. "It appears to me," he cried, "that through the conclusion of the concordat sufficient guarantees have been given that German citizens of the Roman Catholic faith will henceforth put themselves unconditionally in the service of the new Nazi state!" Hitler's official organ, the *Voelkischer Beobachter*, said, bluntly, "For Germany to live it is necessary that the Centrum perish."

The fall of the Catholic Party was blamed largely on ex-Chancellor Bruening who was said to have committed three serious errors. It was Bruening who in time of stress demanded of Hindenburg the right to rule by national decrees instead of Reichstag laws; he established the means of a dictatorship for Hitler. When the economic situation demanded severest measures Bruening believed he could help the nation by large cuts in salaries and in the progressive suppression of the social relief work. This drove labour into the arms of the Nazis. In 1930 a proposal was made for a union of the Centre with the Social Democrats, a Bruening-Otto Braun dictatorship, which would save the Republic and rule with the consent of the majority. Although Bruening was a practical politician and no blind enemy of Marxism (which in Germany was of the mildest sort), he refused to accept "the lesser of two evils." Whether the chancellor was advised from Rome to take this action cannot be known; that the Vatican policy was against coöperation with the Socialists is claimed by Count Sforza, who says, "Pope Pius XI forced the German Catholic Party away from alliance with the Socialists and towards alliance with the Nationalists."

Monsignor Kaas went to Rome. To the surprise of an interviewer who expected a strong denunciation of Hitler from the ancient chief of the Catholic Party, the prelate said: "Hitler knows well how to guide the ship. This man, bearer of high ideals, will do all that is necessary to save the nation from catastrophe. Even before he became chancellor I met him frequently and was greatly impressed by his clear thinking, by his way of facing realities while upholding his ideals, which are noble. It is wrong to insist

today on what Hitler said as a demagogue, when the one thing that interests us is to know what he does today and tomorrow as a chancellor. . . . It matters little who rules so long as order is maintained. The history of the last years has well proven in Germany that the democratic-parliamentary system was incapable. Two ways remained, either the American, of giving the president dictatorial power, or the Italian, institute the reign of a single party, and Germany chose the latter. . . ."

The archbishop of Bamberg invited the Catholic press "to second energetically and sincerely the efforts of the National government to realize the reconstruction of Germany and renew its economic and spiritual force."

Cardinal Faulhaber, addressing a Catholic congress in Waunstein, said: "In the liberal epoch it was proclaimed that the individual had the right to live his life as he chose and to enjoy in this world an unbridled felicity unrestrained. Today the masters of power invite the individuals to subordinate themselves to general interests. We declare ourselves partisans of this doctrine and we rejoice in this change of mentality."

Thus the *Kulturkampf* which defeated Bismarck ended in victory for Adolf Hitler.

In the Christian Socialist Party in Austria the Vatican had not only a great political force which always controlled the countryside and frequently Vienna, but a leader, Monsignor Ignaz K. Seipel, who had a dream of creating a new Holy Roman Empire.

At the end of the war Seipel was a little-known priest; before the time of his death in 1932 he had risen to power which earned him the consideration of a modern Wolseley. Had he lived another year or two it is reasonable to assume that the Fascist forces, the Heimwehr, would have triumphed as Hitler's did in Berlin, and that an understanding with Mussolini would have been reached, making possible the fulfilment of Seipel's wishes.

Simply, it would be a union of states and parts of states which are Catholic and which belonged to the old Austro-Hungarian monarchy. With Vienna as its great capital, with Austria as its

centre, it would take from Yugoslavia the Catholic third, Croatia, which was having its religious difficulties with the government, divide Czechoslovakia into two, taking the Slovak or Catholic part away from the domination of the non-Catholic or Hussite freethinking Czechs, and unite with that part of Hungary which the peace treaties had not torn away and placed under Rumanian tyranny and other foreign control. In Hungary, incidentally, it would place a Catholic ruler, either a constitutional premier or a member of the Habsburgs, where two Calvinists, the dictator, regent Admiral Horthy, and the premier, Count Bethlen, now ruled. The plan might eventually include Catholic Bavaria, where the French had at times intrigued separation from Berlin and union with Alsace-Lorraine. It was not Monsignor Seipel's idea to create an empire immediately; he had plans of a Danube confederation, a series of friendship and tariff pacts, a gradual growing together of a new nation to restore peace to Central Europe and eventually perhaps a home for the pope, who at that time was distinctly menaced by the Fascisti of the Duce.

In 1922 Seipel became chancellor. Enemies said that one of his first acts was to trade an Austrian pledge not to seek *anschluss*, or union, with Germany for a League of Nations guaranteed loan of £27,000,000. Seipel was not anxious for the German union. He devoted himself to restoring the economic integrity of the country and to planning political events far into the future. He believed that the deposed Empress Zita's son, young Otto, whose early training had been at the Benedictine Abbey of Saint-Maurice in Clervaux, Luxembourg, might become just the right kind of manageable ruler of a reconstructed central state. For this idea he leagued himself with the legitimists in Hungary and influenced the appointment of Dr. Justinian Scredi as primate.

As long as he was in power Chancellor Seipel supported the Heimwehr unofficially. This force was Fascist with local adaptations. It was extra-legal, anti-parliamentary, and armed to the best of its ability, as are all Fascist movements, and while it did not at first demand power over the government, its main objective was to destroy the Socialist Party and end "Red" dictatorship in

Vienna. It was therefore, an armed agrarian revolt against urban industrialism. As Vienna was Socialist to the core, the Heimwehr made a great appeal to Catholics and enlisted numerous priests who declared the Vienna city government the work of Lenin, the devil, and Antichrist.

In 1927 the four-day revolution in Vienna indirectly led to the renewal of strength of the waning Heimwehr. The uprising in Vienna was spontaneous and had no leadership other than little groups which went from factory to workshop calling for a short demonstration against an evident cruel and unjust decision by the courts in favour of several Heimwehr men who had murdered parading workingmen. Unfortunately for the demonstrators, about a hundred communist agents mingled with the 50,000 unarmed peaceful demonstrators, called for violence and led mobs against the Palace of Justice, which was destroyed by fire. A hundred and one persons were shot to death by the police in restoring order. Immediately propaganda throughout the land claimed the revolution had been planned by the Socialists with the purpose of establishing a dictatorship. Seipel, in the October that followed, told the Heimwehr to organize under his banner, assuring it protection from state action, an immunity from interference by foreign governments, and enough money for uniforms, weapons, and wages when necessary. A year later the ex-chancellor, believing the time ready for his return to power on the crest of a Fascist wave, openly announced himself a Fascist.

Meanwhile Police Chief Schober, who had become chancellor, expelled Seipel's right arm in the Heimwehr, Major Waldemar Pabst, a German professional counter-revolutionary, accused of treason. Pabst, leader in the Kapp *Putsch*, had been implicated in political assassinations in Germany, and was a go-between for Hitler and Prince Starhemberg, official chief of the Austrian Fascisti. But more important than this blow to Seipel's ambition was the overthrow of the Conservative Government in England and the arrival of Labour for the second time into power. Ramsay MacDonald and Arthur Henderson were close friends of Viennese Socialism and open enemies of dictatorship and Fascist terrorism.

Henderson, informed by an American newspaper correspondent in Vienna of the great growth of the Heimwehr, its armament, and its impending march on the capital, caused an interpellation in the House of Commons on Austrian affairs. The charge was made that the peace treaty was being broken, that a secret army was organized, that it possessed military supplies from government sources, that it was a menace to peace in Central Europe and that it planned to seize the government. To which Mr. Henderson replied, the Heimwehr must be disarmed. The French Government seconded. This attack from the Allies at a time of imminent civil war between the Heimwehr and the *Republikanische Schutzbund* (the Republican Guard or Socialist army), led to the retirement of the prelate.

In 1930, for a short while, he was minister of foreign affairs when the Christian Socialist Party victoriously returned to power with Karl Vaugoin as chancellor. Prince Rudiger von Starhemberg, now minister of the interior, openly boasted of his alliance with Hitler, who was then marching swiftly towards absolutism. But Seipel, who had been known as "Austriehelieu" and who was at one time said to be carrying on the tradition of the French cardinal, was now too deeply compromised in the Hitler movement. German Fascism was denounced by all the Allied governments. Austria was little more than the stepchild of the League of Nations and an independent political course was too great a luxury for her. So long as Seipel dreamed of a great Catholic bloc, he aroused no antagonism, but now alignment with dictatorial terroristic anti-parliamentary armed force proved disastrous.

On August 2, 1932, Monsignor Seipel died, and shortly afterwards, Hitler, becoming dictator of Germany, crushed the Socialist and Catholic parties, and made the state "Totalitarian," eliminating by terrorism all elements but his own. Austria, under Chancellor Dollfuss, fearing that Hitler's proposed union would destroy his own Christian Socialist Party, opposed German Fascism vigorously, and Prince Stahremberg, Hitler's accomplice, gave his Fascisti orders to resist the Nazi movement. Austrian Catholicism insisted on its independence. Had Seipel been alive his political

astuteness and his Catholic plans might have changed the history of Central Europe at this propitious moment.

In France the situation was quite different; the Catholics, for the most part, were attached to the past, the great majority suffered nostalgia for regimes which had disappeared. With the rare exception of such men as Etienne Lamy, forever a Republican, it can be stated as a fact that about the year 1880 a Catholic meant always a Monarchist, Legitimist, or Orléanist, ultra or liberal, except when he was more rarely a Bonapartist or even a *solutionniste*, that is to say, a man who preferred anything rather than a republic. And this is quite understandable. The Republic was the daughter of the Protestants of Alsace and the Freemasons of everywhere; the Empire had leaned on the Jewish business men and the banks, but the Monarchy, purified and rejuvenated by thirty years of youthful government, enchanted the pious souls who had completely forgotten the gauntlet of Nogaret and the circulars of M. Dupuis and who dreamed only of the lily of St. Louis.

It was the grand era of the *Union conservatrice*, which, collecting the dispersed troops, made a brilliant entry into the Chamber of Deputies in 1885, where the radicals held 180 seats, opportunists 200, and the conservatives 200. But these Catholic conservatives, save perhaps Raoul Duval, Deberley, and others, refused to face the situation, refused to support the ministry of Rouvier which President Grévy planned to form against the radicals, rejected also the opportunists' plans for dealing with the radicals, their common enemy.

Leo XIII saw things more clearly than the French Catholics. He realized at once that the Republic had installed itself for a long time, and in accordance with the Church's traditional doctrine towards established power, he acted without delay and for theoretical and practical results. Receiving Cardinal Lavignerie in audience in October, 1890, he confided to him his policy and consented to the "smashing of the windows of the old parties." The archbishop of Algiers accomplished this task with great courage

when in November he proposed the celebrated toast, "certain," as he said, "that he would not be disavowed by any voice of authority," that the Catholics of France rally around the Republican constitution. And to better illustrate his thoughts the Cardinal ordered the "Marseillaise" played with a fanfare by the White Fathers.

This sudden action by Cardinal Lavigerie all in all proved disconcerting to the Catholics. The saintly Cardinal Richard, for whom the sky hid what was actually passing before his eyes, did not realize, as did Cardinal Place and other cardinals, that the pope, although not formally, was "at the bottom of this affair," so he went to war with his brother of Algiers. But the pope, several months later, in his encyclical *Inter sollicitudines* swallowed the toast of Algiers. . . . Immediately the "new spirit" bore its first fruits in a legislative and administrative regime visibly ameliorated. All that now remained was for the Catholics to group themselves in the political field, but their dispersion, their excessive unreasonableness, let them pass the favourable occasion furnished by the Moline ministry in 1896, and when a man of rare political wisdom, Jacques Piou, organized the *Action liberale* in 1902, it was already too late; the radicals had become the masters, separation of Church and state was as good as law.

Then, under the new pontificate, that of Pius X, the movement assailed by this tempest retreated and shrank. A time of difficulty, uncertainty, hopelessness, came for the *Action liberale* which navigated courageously under a choking sky. Aristide Briand's declaration of policy at Périgueux and later the Great War, and the *Union Sacrée* of Raymond Poincaré, resulted in the creation of a truly and durable different "new spirit."

After the war the Catholics appeared in great numbers at the Palais Bourbon. There were more than two hundred communicants in the parties, from the Entente to the Left Republicans. For an instant it was thought that the more "social" among them would constitute a special party, but, due to the unassimilatory personality of Marc Sangnier, nothing came of it. The electoral defeat of Sangnier and the victory of the Cartellistes in 1924

finally led to the formation of this group which called itself *démocrate populaire*. Unquestionably this group, on account of its absolute zeal, has aroused the strongest animosity from the Right and from the united Left. Although it does not unite the numerical majority of Catholics, it counts among its membership many of the most active and most enterprising. In international and social affairs it has acted with such courage that its enemies—it has enemies rather than adversaries—have denounced it as truly demagogic. Its leader, Robert Cornilleau, with his usual talent, has launched under the title *Pourquoi pas?* the idea of a parliamentary union with the Socialists. The *Pourquoi pas?* however, has remained frozen like sudden ice, the French Catholics facing the situation not having reacted like their German brethren, but the proposal is significant of an audacious spirit. Later on it may prove acceptable, provided it acts as a tonic for the Catholic political organism, stopping its inflammation; but it may have a different future should it become a party of wilful extremism and, by the continual overbidding of the “pure” and despite the efforts of its founders, be transformed from a party of equilibrium and of men of intelligence into a club of sectarians who attend mass.

As has been amply demonstrated, the Catholic parties, while drawing great strength from the Holy See, also produce drawbacks both for themselves and for the Church. The Catholic party, wherever it exists, *nolens volens*, draws the Holy See into some responsibility. It may be unjust and at times without foundation, but the public will always believe that the deputies of the German Centrum, for example, never adopted an attitude, never took a serious step, without first conferring with the papal nuncio in Berlin. Such a popular myth constitutes a serious political danger.

Rather bitterly it is admitted that at times the Catholic parties have not shown themselves as docile or as obedient as outsiders believe. Serious conflicts between the Centrum and the Holy See have not been forgotten, nor the embarrassment created by the extremist wing of the Italian Popolari, which was called “white



Bolshevism," and which finally resulted in the expulsion of its chief, Miglioli. Moreover, it must be admitted that generally the foundation of a Catholic party in any country, although its endeavours may be purely political and its leaders neither bishops nor priests, tends towards the development of a national church.

One more fact must be noted—the moral obligation which might arise for the faithful in countries where the political party exists, to join that party, although its political program pleases them little or not at all. This was the drawback seen by a cardinal secretary of state when he said, in substance: "No Catholic party should ever be formed. The Holy See has never advised it; on the contrary, after the era of Leo XIII its instructions have not changed. If a Catholic party is formed, other Catholics who do not desire to adhere to it might appear excommunicated by it, although they remain perhaps just as good and faithful." This was the point of view held by Cardinal Boggiani, opponent of Italian Popolarism, of Dr. Eberle who opposed the Centrum, and of the *Federation républicaine* which suspected the French *Parti démocrate populaire*.

The Vatican, in short, has never endorsed the political parties, identified itself with them, or given them its support. Never was this attitude more clearly shown than during the reign of Pius XI. According to Count Sforza it was "hostility to the idea of freedom" which caused the Vatican to destroy the Popolari, forced the German Centrum away from alliance with the Socialists, opposed the Republican movement in Spain and especially the Christian-democratic movement in Catalonia, and sacrificed the claims of the Flemish Democrats in Belgium. But Count Sforza may be mistaken. Pius XI, churchmen say, in his vast, powerful and authoritative mind, had a greater idea; he created a new movement, unitarian in character, which joined the laymen closely to the hierarchy, and equipped them for public action above all parties, for the purpose of defending religious interests, and the family and society as well. Catholic Action, the pope has declared, is the pupil of his eye; he is so strongly attached to it that

he has made known its existence and maintained its rights in all the latest concordats, particularly the one with Italy.

Catholic Action, the distinguished prelate and noted theorist, Monsignor Fontenelle, says, "is specifically marked by its religious spirit; it aims to perfect the spiritual equipment of its members, to develop, in accord with the Church, a holy and charitable social activity, inspire or restore where necessary, true Christian living, in a word, to Christianize or re-Christianize the world. . . . It is identified finally with the divine mission confided to the Church; like the apostolic hierarchy, it is not temporal but spiritual, not political but religious, not worldly but divine." In the words of Rev. R. A. McGowan, the assistant director of the National Catholic Welfare Conference, Catholic Action deals with questions in the fields of legislation and economics, "but only in their distinctly religious and moral aspects, and not, as do political parties, swing votes or campaign, or, as labour unions do, bargain for wages." The *Commonweal* defines the formal object of Catholic Action "to produce, change, and adjust all religious, moral, and social and economic thought and procedure of modern life to Catholic standards of thought and action, in order to spread the Kingdom of Christ."

But according to the remark of the great Queen Catherine, the demarcation between the two orders, the temporal and the divine, is frequently difficult, at times impossible; if there were not "mixed matters" all would be well, but these exist and know how to recall themselves to those who would forget them. Pius XI himself, in writing to Cardinal Schuster, archbishop of Milan, has indicated the fingering necessary to prevent striking false notes:

Catholic Action must not launch itself into politics; no less surely must members be stopped from carrying out the true and good politics in a Christian and Catholic manner. . . . Moreover, having been given exclusive competency over all problems of a moral nature the Church, that it to say in a certain measure the Catholic Action, has the right and the duty in the social and labour fields not to substitute itself for the syndicates, but to strive everywhere for the honour of

God, the welfare of souls, and the supernatural life with all its benefits.

The true problem, in fact, is found just where the pope has placed it. It is quite exact to say that the same man, according to the nature of his task, acts now as a Catholic, now as a citizen. But his daily activities cannot be cut apart into such easy facts. Despite all precautions taken, those Catholics who take up political activities will be considered as agents of the Church in a field which is not by nature their field, and moreover they will be carried away by the influx of their own action. The religious spirit is a living force which one cannot bottle as categories and species with well-pasted labels.

Finally, it is plain that the framework of Catholic Action provides the most formidable machine for universal centralization that one can imagine in our time. At precisely the epoch when temporal powers are bending under the crushing burdens of political unification and administrative centralization, one may well ask if the Catholic Church, whose power, especially in the past, came from the multiform flashing of the Holy Spirit, under the freely accepted discipline of the sovereign pontiff will really gain, by taking the road, without regret, of spiritual rationalization and of unification *à la* Louis XIV, not to say *à la* Napoleon.



## CHAPTER XXI

### *Catholic Church and Protestant Churches*

FEW QUESTIONS ARE MORE IMPORTANT OR MORE PREGNANT WITH possibilities than that of the union of the Churches. The precept which Christ gave to his disciples is quite simple; he demanded unity—*sint unum!* But in the course of the centuries and especially since the establishment of the Church, the world has witnessed the hatching of an extraordinary series of systems, rites, sects of all sorts. First of importance was the Oriental, or Greek, Schism. Later, the Western Church, amputated of its limb, recovered from its wounds, reorganized itself, forgetting Byzantine influences, and touched its point of perfection in the thirteenth century. Then a new division took place: the principle of free thinking, the tendency of quasi-absolute independence of the human being, battered a breach in the walls of the Western Church—it was the formidable movement of the Protestant Reformation.

The Greek Schism presented opposing theological conceptions, sometimes of capital importance, certainly, but of a speculative order and generally unrelated to the masses of the faithful. The Protestant Reformation presented an opposing philosophy, a new system of experiencing Christian faith and life itself. To Catholicism, the "orthodox" Church was nothing more than a *schism*, dissension, in which the mass and the sacraments remained valid, and belief for the most part identical; the Protestant Church, on the contrary, contained a *heresy*, a new religion.

At all times, it must be said, the most religious spirits and frequently the highest leaders suffered by these divisions. Throughout the centuries the harm caused many souls by the scandal of

divided Christianity, the lost forces for the evangelization of pagans, and the mystic grief of seeing the "seamless robe" of the Bride of Christ torn apart, resulted in numerous attempts at reconciliation. Among them must be mentioned the short union of Latins and Greeks in Florence, the initiative undertaken by the French monarchy for conferences between "papists" and "Huguenots," and finally the correspondence of Bossuet and Leibnitz with a view of Catholic and Protestant reunion.

None of these attempts, we know, resulted in any positive result. But, viewed from a distance, they do not seem useless because, outside of their beneficial effect on more than one Christian conscience, they served well to continue the current of ideas necessary for a future reunion, and, if one may say so, interrupt the "statute of limitations."

With the twentieth century the question was renewed vigorously. The Protestants had not applied their reform principles equally. According to where their churches were constituted with speed and hardness, they crystallized the Protestant spirit more or less completely. It is important to understand this point and the œcumenical movement which they started, and the obstacles which they encountered on their way. A few examples will permit us to judge the diversity of this cult's evolution. Thus, the Lutherans remained fast in the *impanation*; that is to say that in the sacrifice of the communion they declared that the body of Christ united hypostatically with the bread and the wine. "No papist," exclaimed Luther, proudly, "can compare with me in the ardour and the power with which I have defended the real presence." However, Zwingli and other such leaders saw nothing more in the same bread and the same wine than a *symbol*, a *memorial* of the love of Christ, destined to awaken the zealousness of charity in the believing soul. Then Calvin, more a man of the Church and more "Roman" than these Germanics, adopted an intermediary position, conserving in a certain sense the real presence, the presence of Christ, not in the body, but in the spirit which communicated itself actually in the communion with the

spirit of the faithful and infused it with power and virtue by this manducation.

Again, among the Anglicans, two important tendencies were discernible—the Low Church, which sought to approximate the Church established by Presbyterians and Calvinists, and the High Church, which felt itself drawn, on the contrary, by that Romanism which in its most evolved form, Anglo-Catholicism, does not differ profoundly from the Catholic Church except in submission to the pope. Finally, among French Protestants, the Reformed Church was divided into two large unions, the Union of Reformed Churches and the Union of Reformed Evangelical Churches, which are, respectively, orthodox and liberals. And one can continue to multiply such examples indefinitely.

The first manifestation of a "new spirit" came in the middle of the nineteenth century; it was known as the Oxford Movement and it brought the celebrated Dr. Edward Bouverie Pusey up to the doors of the Church of Rome and caused numerous others of his disciples, Newman, Faber, and Manning, to mention only the greatest, to cross its threshold.

When conversions increased with accelerated cadence, and before a movement which seemed to shake a large part of the Anglican clergy, the idea of corporate reunion was outlined under a concrete modality: are not the ordinations of the clergy valid in relation to the Roman Church? For those who took the affirmative nothing more remained than the question of obedience, undoubtedly a grave and delicate question, but one which the creation of a British patriarch would easily solve. However, this is how the situation developed:

The whole world knows the thesis of this great movement of conciliation in which the most generous spirits coöperated. One need only mention the name of Father Portal and that of his friend from Madeira, Lord Halifax, and the work of the *Anglo-Roman Review* in behalf of the validity of the English ordinations. Leo XIII, whose great spirit favored peace and unity, thought that collective reunion could be achieved through this means,

while the Archbishop of York (Anglican) saluted with respect "the voice come from Rome," while all of Britain and the rest of the world at the appeal of Leo XIII turned towards his luminous spirit.

But a section of the Anglicans with Dr. Benson, the archbishop of Canterbury, and more especially the British Catholics, showed themselves violently hostile. The Catholics, in particular, who had undergone imprisonment, despoliation, and death for their faith throughout the centuries, would not permit without protest that the hand of friendship be extended to the Church of their persecutors. They clung to the least of their services and to all their demands, after having paid so dearly for them. Cardinal Vaughan, archbishop of Westminster, without showing himself so violent, however, inclined to their side. In *The Tablet* he gave rough treatment to the defenders of the validity of ordinations, Monsignor Duchesne, Monsignor Gasparri, and Monsignor Boudinhon. It was always the same peremptory self-sufficiency which spoiled his otherwise generous and frank character. He was called to Rome by the pope and found allies there, Dom Gasquet and Monsignor Merry del Val. The pope did not accord the cardinal a hearty reception. According to the papers of Dom Gasquet (reported by Father Francis Woodlock in the *Times*, January 2, 1924), "the pope reproached the cardinal for his lack of sympathy for the established Church and told him that the Anglicans, according to information given him, were ready to come over to Rome in a body. From the archbishop of Westminster the pope learned that he had been erroneously informed by the tales of the French abbé, and it would be a *faux pas* to write a letter hailing a submission which not a single Anglican had even dreamed of making. When Cardinal Vaughan explained that supremacy and infallibility were not doctrines which the archbishop of Canterbury and his colleagues of the Anglican episcopate were disposed to admit, the pope raised his arms in the air and cried out, '*Ma questa è una questione di dottrina*'. Needless to say, the letter to the archbishop of Canterbury was never written, and we know, more-

over, that the matter was terminated on the 13th of September, 1896, with a formal and motivated bull of condemnation.

Since then corporate reunion has been rendered more difficult. Individual conversions, however, were encouraged. For this purpose Vaughan sought the assurances of a livelihood for converted Protestant ministers. This request was judged indiscreet, and as a result conversions were not numerous. The question has been raised whether Cardinal Vaughan later did not regret his attitude in this affair and consider himself responsible for the check to the movement. Is not that the meaning of this phrase which he uttered on his deathbed, "I have been a failure; I have missed that which I desired"?

The failure of the Anglican ordinations did not discourage the friends of reunion and in particular the oldest among them, Lord Halifax. For this common ideal he sought out another generous soul, one of the noblest the world has known, the great Cardinal Mercier, whose asceticism and holiness the war placed in its universal light.

To his archiepiscopal palace the primate of Belgium invited representatives of the Anglican and Roman churches, such as Lord Halifax and Dr. Armitage Robinson of the former, and Monsignor Batiffol and the Abbé Hemmer of the latter. These notables did not involve their churches in their actions, but they came in agreement with their colleagues or their superiors. Cardinal Mercier had notified the pope, who had raised no objections. Moreover, in order to sidetrack any possible cause of trouble, it was agreed with Cardinal Bourne that the question of the British Catholics would not be mingled in the discussion.

The Conversations of Malines—such is the name history has already given them—developed in a friendly and studious atmosphere. Documented memoranda on certain precise questions were presented and discussed. We have received from the mouth of one of the participants direct reports on these discussions and we have read the summary, unilateral but very interesting, which Lord Halifax has published on these Conversations. These two



sources of information lead us to a unique confirmation: a rapprochement actually existed between the two groups—especially in the relations of the various Churches with the Church of Rome; this rapprochement resulted from the rigorously scientific methods employed and from the ironic searchings of the Christian spirit. In fact, when the first Conversations were over, one of the Anglican prelates, interpreting the sentiments of all who had come to participate, asked Cardinal Mercier for the benediction. The cardinal, recoiling an instant, acquiesced. Anglicans and Catholics were on their knees before the image of Christ while the grand old man extended his right hand and traced over them all the sign of the Cross. All his life Cardinal Mercier retained a tender memory of these Conversations with the Anglican priests. When he died he left the dearest symbol of his episcopacy, his pastoral ring, to Lord Halifax.

But the Conversations of Malines which caused such profound public interest never had a third session. It appears from the British side—and perhaps also from the other—that there was a feeling that they had become “involved” because the Conversations, although private, might appear official because of the high personalities participating. One cannot predict for either side that it will not take up the matter again, and it should not be said that the movement for reunion will not continue to be discussed by individuals or groups.

The Anglican Church gives us the most complete picture of what has transpired in the past hundred years in the movement for unity with the Church of Rome. The other Catholic movements towards the high church in Germany, and the Doleans in Holland, are far from being of like importance. But it is universal Protestantism which gives us an idea of the movement, *with or without Rome*, towards a union of Churches. With the reader's permission we will call this movement “Protestant œcumenism.”

Certainly the sight of the Catholic Church, extended universally, its identical communion everywhere, has worked strongly on Protestant imaginations. The “menace” of Roman domination

having evidently passed, the Protestant Churches, moved perhaps somewhat by regret of the rupture of the past and to a great extent by a desire for universality which is inherent in most Churches, have taken steps for the rapprochement of all the Churches of Christ, Protestant, Oriental, and Roman.

This Protestant œcumenism has not remained merely in spirit; it has expressed itself in deeds, and two "conferences," each independent of the other, at Stockholm and at Lausanne, have translated these principal tendencies: practical collaboration of all Christians in moral and social action; spiritual (one is tempted to say theological) rapprochement of all Christians in purely religious matters.

The World Conference on Faith and Order enjoyed a great success in Protestant countries. But no one worked for that more cleverly nor gave it more precious assistance than the archbishop of Upsala, Monsignor Nathan Söderblom. Not only was Monsignor Söderblom one of the heads—a very intelligent one, too—of Scandinavian Protestantism, but he represented the modality of the Reformation which approaches the Catholic Church at least externally: of Swedish Lutheranism it is said that it has conserved the greatest part of the rites of the episcopate. It was, therefore, most interesting to see the head of such a "Romanized" Church make common cause not only with the Anglicans, more oriented than himself towards Rome, but with Calvinists, with Presbyterians, with "liberals" of all sorts.

In order to give a complete portrait, it must also be noted that the religious activity of the World Conference coincides with the political activity, which was largely the work of Monsignor Söderblom and which has been working to restore peace among the former belligerent nations.

The attitude of the Vatican towards the World Conference remains its traditional attitude on questions of reunion, but has a particular resonance which gives to its declinatory plea a tone of sympathy. The Catholic Church since its foundation considers itself the "depository" of the faith which Christ confided to it.

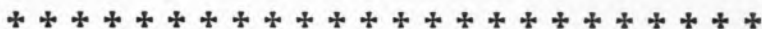
It claims that it has not changed an iota of the law, and when the popes promulgate a dogma they do nothing but "define" a verity received in ancient times; they develop, they do not create.

Under these circumstances all Catholics who have concerned themselves with reunion, beginning with Bossuet in his correspondence with Leibnitz, have always clearly indicated that it does not deal, that it cannot deal, with an entente arrived at by the road of reciprocal concessions, as is the custom in parliaments and in politics. In respect to truth itself it is necessary for all non-Catholics to meditate and plumb the depths of their belief, their experiences, their aspirations, and Catholics must open their arms with charity and comprehension for their separated brothers, and both parties must pray fervently and implore the aid of the Holy Spirit.

This was the sense of the letter *ad quosdam Puseistas doctores* sent by Pius IX at the time of the Oxford Movement. It was also the sense of the Conversations of Malines, the attitude towards the World Conference. It is evident the pope has not the moral right to and cannot give in, but nevertheless points out the road, the road to success, that word being understood as an overwhelming development of Christian charity and generous obedience to the inspirations of the Holy Spirit. It is evident that in Anglican and Scandinavian Protestantism the Left elements more or less continue to slide into a sort of moralizing free-thinking, while the right elements, on the other hand, are "Romanized" more and more, until either they or their children rally to the Catholic Church, to the less and less questioned supremacy of the bishop of Rome.

The visible balance sheet of the Union of Churches movement contains three columns: Progression of individual return to the Church of Rome; progress of sentiment for Christian œcumenism; birth of a spirit of mutual and affectionate charitableness. Leo XIII, Benedict XV, and Pius XI, all three truly broad-minded, without changing the traditional position of the Church, which is to maintain scrupulously the truth which it inherited, without making a single dogmatic step towards those they consider as

"errant," have, however, done something new: they have opened their arms to the "wandering" sheep. And it is perhaps this gesture, which has all the value of an action, which may one day lead all the diverse Churches of Christ, if not to actual union, at least to true fraternity.



## CHAPTER XXII

### *The Pope and Modern Society*

THE "MORAL DÉBÂCLE" WHICH FOLLOWED THE WORLD WAR, THE social conflict and the economic collapse of more recent times, have been noted by the popes with stirring encyclicals on labour, socialism, marriage, birth control, and public morals. The Vatican is seen to be in close touch with actualities.

In 1920, a time of havoc in human behaviour, manifest in a thousand ways, Benedict XV, declaring "the world today is afflicted by five great plagues," dealt with them in the following order:

- Negation of authority
- Hatred among brothers
- Thirst for pleasure
- Disgust for work
- Forgetfulness of the supernatural objects of life.

Two years later Pius XI devoted his Christmas encyclical almost entirely to moral laxity engendered by the war.

In Italy itself a curious conflict occurred. At times when he scented success in negotiating with the Vatican, the Duce became the most moral person on earth, censoring not only the press, but the stage, movies, books, dancing, and clothes. Fascist zealots were permitted to roam the streets, stopping young women whose dresses they thought too short, painting a mark on their stockings or shoes where the dress ought morally to end. But when negotiations were stalemated, Mussolini permitted such an utter slackness that the pope issued official statements in the Vatican organs accusing the Fascist party of fostering immorality.

In the middle of the nineteen-twenties the pope, addressing a

reunion of men's clubs, denounced "increasing immodesty . . . ugly, ruinous, catastrophical tendencies which Catholic husbands, fathers, and brothers should attempt to check at all costs."

But in 1927 the *Osservatore Romano*, official Vatican organ, printed a report from its editor, Conte Dalla Torre, who was known as the unofficial spokesman of the pope, that the jazz age had waned and was passing, that the wave of immorality coming out of the war had receded in almost all countries. It was noted that women's dresses, which in the earlier 'twenties had risen several inches a year until they topped the knee, were now returning to the ankle, that the modern dances inspired by jazz music were passing out of fashion in all countries, including Turkey (where, incidentally, they were introduced, together with Viennese waltzes, by the hard-drinking, jazz-dancing dictator, Kemal Pasha), that even Japan had passed laws curbing the social evil, that so-called modern ideas were in retreat, that Belgium and Czechoslovakia had legislated against "immorality posing as art," that stage censorship had gained in the United States, England, and Canada, and that the advocates of easy divorce and birth control were losing ground everywhere.

"The sight was terrifying when the people whose eyes had gradually returned to normal focus saw the moral pit into which they had fallen after the war," concluded the report.

Looking at the modern world *sub specie aeternitatis*, the Vatican, which may have changed much in its relations to the new movements and new situations, such as, for instance, have arisen from the industrialization of labour, has remained adamant in facing the problems of birth control, marriage and divorce, sterilization, and indulgence in worldly pleasures.

"Chaste wedlock," says the encyclical issued by Pius XI in 1931, "is the principle and foundation of all human intercourse . . . the family is more sacred than the state, and men are begotten not for the world, but for heaven and eternity." Marriage constitutes "a perpetual and indissoluble bond which cannot be dissolved by civil law."

Regarding sterilization the pope contends that "public magistrates have no direct power over the bodies of their subjects; therefore, where no crime has taken place and there is no cause present for grave punishment, they can never directly harm or tamper with the integrity of the body, either for the reasons of eugenics or for any other reason."

The pope then comes to the crux of his sermon—the sanctity of marriage, and the attacks the modern world has made upon it. He says: "For now, alas! not secretly or under cover, but openly, with all sense of shame put aside, now by word, again by writings, by theatrical productions of every kind, by romantic fiction, by amorous and frivolous novels, by cinematographs portraying in vivid scene, addresses broadcast by radio telephony, in short by all the inventions of modern science, the sanctity of marriage is trampled upon and derided; divorce, adultery, all the basest vices, either are extolled or at least are depicted in such colours as to appear to be free of all reproach and infamy."

On the subject of birth control there had been notable public utterances in recent years. The archbishops and bishops of Scotland in a pastoral letter in 1927 wrote: "The Catholic Church, as you know, is infallible in her teaching of faith and morals, and which even now non-Catholics must admit is the greatest moral force in the world; she, with full knowledge of all that is implied in the practice of birth control, teaches now, as she has ever taught, that it is a grave sin, separating us from the friendship of God and rendering us liable to eternal punishment."

Cardinal Hayes: "Woe to those who degrade, pervert, or do violence to the law of nature as fixed by the eternal decrees of God Himself." Bishop Noll in *Our Sunday Visitor*, which he edits, wrote: "Birth control is legitimate when the means are legitimate, but the only legitimate means are self-control." Father Conway explained that "non-Catholics often misunderstand our position on birth control, for they seem to believe that Catholic married couples are bound to have children to the mother's capacity. This is not our teaching. It is perfectly ethical to limit the

family if the method used is self-control by abstinence and continence."

The pope in his encyclical maintains that "no reason, however grave, may be put forward by which anything intrinsically against nature may become conformable to nature and morally good. Since, therefore, the conjugal act is destined primarily by nature for the begetting of children, those who in exercising it deliberately frustrate its natural power and purpose sin against nature and commit a deed which is shameful and intrinsically vicious." This statement was taken as a direct answer to the Lambeth Conference of Anglican Bishops, which in 1930 had passed a resolution permitting birth control in certain circumstances.

Companionate and experimental marriages "which reduce our truly cultured natures to the barbarous standards of savage peoples" are called "hateful abominations" in the encyclical, which furthermore expresses its disapproval of "exaggerated physiological education," and concludes with the admonition to the young to make careful preparations before marriage, choose their partners well, and observe the laws of God and nature in their married life.

This encyclical led to considerable criticism. Bishop George Craig Stewart of Chicago explained the Anglican approval of birth control as "under exceptional circumstances determined by competent moral and medical advisers, in the interests of both the individual and the community. This position seems to me reasonable and within the law of God." Mrs. F. Robertson Jones, president of the American Birth Control League, made a more challenging reply. "In unconditionally condemning birth control," she said, "the Roman Catholic Church sets itself squarely against social progress. The issue between the Roman Catholic Church and other Churches is becoming clearly drawn, for one after another important groups of Protestants and Jews have recently gone on record in favour of birth control.

"The Lambeth Conference of Anglican Bishops, the American Unitarian Association, the National Conference of the American Universalist Church, the Central Conference of Jewish Rabbis,



and large sections of the Methodist Episcopal Church have all within the last three years endorsed birth control as an important means of social betterment."

In the courtyard of San Damaso the pope celebrated the fortieth anniversary of Leo XIII's famous encyclical, *Rerum novarum*, the "magna carta of all Catholic activities in the social sphere," with a radio address, his first in the open, to ten thousand pilgrims and to the listening world. He spoke in Italian, French, and German and Monsignor F. J. Spellman followed by reading a translation in English.

Beginning with a repetition of Leo's words, "Capital cannot do without labour and labour without capital," Pius continued:

In the past there has been, beyond question, an excessive and unjust disproportion of the commodities of life between capital and labour, for on the one hand immense riches are accumulated in the hands of a few, while on the other the proletariat, who form a multitude beyond all counting, have nothing of their own save their hands and the sweat of their brow.

It is therefore absolutely necessary to reconstruct the whole economic system by bringing it back to the requirements of social justice so as to insure a more equitable distribution of the united proceeds of capital and labour.

The differences in social conditions in the human family which were wisely decreed by the Creator must not and cannot ever be abolished, but on the other hand the condition of the proletarian worker cannot for ever be the normal condition of the bulk of mankind. It is essential that the proletariat be enabled gradually to obtain some of the advantages enjoyed by proprietors.

In the present order this can be accomplished only by a fair and just wage. Wages, therefore, must be such as really to satisfy the legitimate requirements of an honest workingman, not only for his person, but also for his family, and to make it possible for him to improve his condition within the limits above described.

Towards his conclusion the pope discussed the state of world affairs in 1931:

Free and unbridled competition has not succeeded by the exaggerated concentration in the hands of a few of the whole economic power, not only of single nations, but of the entire world, and this concentration and this power degenerates into tyrannical despotism.

Turning to Socialism and Communism, the pope said,

"Religious Socialism," "Christian Socialism," are expressions implying a contradiction in terms. No one can be at the same time a sincere Catholic and a true Socialist.

In an encyclical (*Quadragesimo Anno*) on labour, a week later, the pope returned to this subject, very carefully drawing the line between Communism and Socialism:

One section of Socialism has degenerated into Communism. Communism teaches and pursues a two-fold aim—merciless class warfare and complete abolition of private ownership. . . . We do not think it necessary to warn upright and faithful children of the Church against the impious and nefarious character of Communism. . . .

Whether Socialism be considered as a doctrine, or as a historical fact, or as a movement, if it really remain Socialism, it cannot be brought into harmony with the dogmas of the Catholic Church. . . .

In a previous Christmas allocution the pope said he believed it his duty "to exhort all, especially men in power who love peace, the sanctity of the family, and human dignity, to make every effort to fight the grave dangers and certain injuries coming from Socialism and Communism."

In the 1931 encyclical Pius lamented the machine age in these words:

How universally has the true Christian spirit become impaired which formerly produced such lofty sentiments even in uncultured and illiterate men! In its stead, man's one solicitude is to obtain his daily bread in any way he can, and so bodily labour, which was decreed by Providence for the good of man's body and soul even after original sin, has everywhere been changed into an instrument of strange perversion; for dead matter leaves the factory ennobled and transformed, where men are corrupted and degraded.

Nor did the pope hesitate to attack men of big business. "Boards of directors proceed in their unconscionable methods even to the violation of their trust in regard to those whose savings they administer," he continued. And referring to stock-market speculation, he added, "Easy returns, which an open market offers to any one, lead many to interest themselves in trade and exchange, their one aim being to make clear profits with the least effort. By their unchecked speculation prices are raised and lowered out of mere greed for gain, making void all the most prudent calculations of manufacturers."

With his usual consistency the pope also attacked the idea of the Fascist corporate state and its grouping of all humanity into syndicates.

It is to be feared [he said] that the new syndical and corporative institutions possess excessive bureaucratic and political character, and that, notwithstanding the general advantages referred to above, it risks serving political aims rather than contributing to the initiation of a better social order. . . . The destruction of a variety of prosperous institutions that were organically linked with one another have caused society to consist virtually of only individuals and the state.

Throughout the world critics in the majority were enthusiastic over the pope's broadcast and encyclical. It was recalled that Leo had written his great document in the face of the rising tide of Socialism, and that the expression of his views had resulted in the formation of societies, clubs, labour unions, and political parties. *Rerum novarum*, it was pointed out by Bishop O'Hara, was the Catholic doctrine of social justice; priests began to work for social justice and charity; it was the duty of pastors in industrial centres to explain Christian laws of justice and charity as they affect employer and employee . . . point out Leo's contention that a great error in the discussion of industrial problems is the idea that class is naturally hostile to class, that rich and poor are intended by nature to live at war with one another. On the contrary, each requires the other; capital cannot thrive without labour, nor labour without capital. He will go on to teach that religion requires that

labouring-men carry out honestly and well all equitable agreements fairly made; never to injure capital nor to outrage the person of an employer; never to employ violence in representing his own cause, nor to engage in riots or disorder.

Professor R. M. MacIvor of Columbia, while of the opinion that Pius' claims of Leo's achievement were a bit excessive because the principles of legislative protection for workingmen were inaugurated before Leo, and first in non-Catholic countries, especially in England, and developed to the fullest in Australia and New Zealand, admits that "Pius is fully as outspoken as Leo regarding the evils attendant on unchecked capitalism, declaring roundly that 'the whole economic life has become hard, cruel, and relentless in a ghastly measure.' Leo had declared that 'a small number of very rich men have been able to lay upon the teeming masses of the labouring poor a yoke that is little better than slavery.'" Dr. Ryan, of the Catholic University of America, stressed the point Pius repudiates, the accusation that the Church favours the wealthy against the wage-earners, and points out that since Leo, Socialism has been divided into Right and Left, one extreme, but the other more moderate than the Socialism condemned by Leo; Communism is attacked for its doctrines of class warfare, abolition of private property, violence and hostility to the church, but Socialism has so changed its policies since Leo that it "often strikingly approaches the just demands of Christian social reform. . . . Nevertheless, Socialism remains a faith impossible for Catholics to embrace."

To the subject of the world economic depression the pope returned in his midsummer broadcast in 1932 when he blamed the crisis on human greed, and that alone. He describes the crisis as the worst calamity that has befallen man since the Flood. The pope, denouncing the accumulation of money and power in the hands of the few, and exaggerated nationalism which has set nation against nation, piled danger upon danger, afforded opportunity for Communism and given ground for atheism, calls upon not only Catholics, but all men of good will, to unite "in a holy

crusade of love and succour to alleviate in some measure the terrible consequences of the economic crisis under which the human race is struggling." He recalls that since his encyclical of October, 1931, "distress has increased, the number of unemployed has grown, and subversive elements are making use of this fact for their propaganda; hence public order is threatened more and more, and the peril of terrorism and anarchy hangs over society even more ominously.

"No leader in public economy, no power of organization, will ever be able to bring social conditions to a peaceful solution," continues the pope, "unless first in the very field of economics there triumphs moral law based on God and conscience. . . . This is the underlying value of every value in the political life as well as in the economic life of nations; this is the soundest 'rate of exchange.' If it is kept steady, all the rest will be stable, being guaranteed by the immutable and eternal law of God."

To human greed, the pope continues, is due "the disorder and inequality from which arises the accumulation of the wealth of nations in the hands of a small group of individuals who manipulate the market of the world at their own caprice, to the immense harm of the masses." As a result Communists "engage openly and in secret in a relentless struggle against religion and against God," and atheists "proclaim that there will be neither peace nor welfare on earth until the last remnant of religion has been torn up and until its last representative has been crushed out of existence; as if in this way could be silenced the marvellous concert in which creation chants the glory of its Creator."

In these encyclicals it is evident that the Vatican has made a great appeal to the labouring-classes, the toiling masses, the poor, the hungry, the dispossessed, in short, the great and ever increasing majority of these critical years. For these masses the pope decreed a Holy Year between Easter 1933 and Easter 1934, calling on the world to forget the worries and cares of the depression: "Men should turn their thoughts for an instant at least from the earthly and transitory things in which they are struggling so

unhappily, towards eternal, celestial things, abandoning the sadness of present conditions."

The philosophical attitude of the Church towards capitalism is well stated by Hilaire Belloc, one of its most brilliant writers, who, prefacing his analysis with the claim that intellectual freedom is the most striking mark of the Catholic Church, that Catholics may and do hold an infinity of positions upon matters where the general trend of Catholicism is manifest but where there has been as yet no theological definition, says:

The most important of these in temporal matters today is the attitude towards Industrial Capitalism. . . . None of us can join its modern organized enemies because its modern organized enemies proclaim a doctrine—to wit, the immorality of private property—which is in direct contradiction to Catholic morals. . . . We find the disagreement between Catholicism and Industrial Capitalism vivid and permanent. There is something irreconcilable between the one and the other. There is the point of Usury, there is the all-important point of the Just Price . . . the great doctrine of Free Will. . . .

Everything about Industrial Capitalism—its ineptitude, its vulgarity, its crying injustice, its dirt, its proclaimed indifference to morals—is at war with the Catholic spirit. . . . Just as Industrial Capitalism came out of the Protestant ethic, so the remedy for it must come out of the Catholic ethic. In other words, we must make the world Catholic before we can correct it from the evils into which the denial of Catholicism has thrown it.

For Christmas, 1931, the pope, who in 1928 had written an encyclical for Christian unity, appealed to the Protestants and the Eastern Orthodox Church to unite with Rome, "one fold under one shepherd," one world, one Christian Church.

The encyclical *Lux Veritatis* reasserts papal supremacy and infallibility in matters of faith and morals, and exalts the Virgin Mary. It reaffirms the doctrine of man and God in the one divine nature of Jesus. It commemorates the 1,500th anniversary of the Council of Ephesus "which condemned the heretic Nestorius, patriarch of Constantinople, for denial that Mary was the Mother

of God," and establishes a new mass, the Maternity of Mary, with special prayers and responses in honour of the Virgin Mother.

For Dr. F. H. Knubel, president of the United Lutheran Church of America, "a single organized Christian Church of the world would soon involve great dangers to mankind, such as a Church state or a state Church of the world"; he could not accept "mariolatry" or papal infallibility, adding that "every such exaltation of Mary is in itself derogation of the Saviour." Dr. William Norman Guthrie, rector of St. Mark's-in-the-Bouwerie in New York, thought "we can get nowhere because the Catholic Church wishes to gobble us up," but Bishop Manning, who had not read the encyclical, approved the idea because it would be "an untold blessing to mankind, greatest step toward world brotherhood and world peace, if Christians joined together. . . ."

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## CHAPTER XXIII

### *Mussolini vs. Pope*

IT MAY BE SAID, *grosso modo*, THAT RELATIONS BETWEEN THE papacy and Fascism up to the present have travelled through four distinct stages: reciprocal distrust and Fascist hostility; reconciliation (the Lateran agreements); open warfare; the apparent peace which continues today. A volume would be necessary to analyse in detail the reasons and events of these unusual affairs. In this chapter will be narrated briefly the conflicts between the Vatican and Fascism before and immediately after the signing of peace, while the following chapter will deal with the creation of the Vatican State, its functions, the great dispute of 1931, and the resulting situation.

First of all it is necessary to state that the causes for disagreement between Church and state are much more numerous than the reasons for agreement. The most important lies in the profound, essential, and irreducible opposition which exists between the spirit and philosophy of Fascism and Catholic doctrine, or, indeed, Christian doctrine. Fascism, in its intellectual origins, traces back through Mussolini to his well-known master, Georges Sorel, the theorist of violence, and with Nietzsche exalts man's "will to power," dishonouring the principle doctrines of Christianity: humility, penitence, renunciation, charity above all, which enervate the "strong," the supermen, born to command and to possess and to rule over the "slaves," or the meek, the weak, the poor, and the unfortunate for whom the only rôle is to submit passively. In the Christian doctrine, Fascism denounces with an insulting laugh the Jewish tradition of the "abused Semitic" (of whom the Spaniard Pio Baroja speaks) and opposes it with the



Mediterranean Romans and pagans. Thus one of the theoreticians of the Fascist movement, Signor Evola, can say, "Our god is the hero of Greek myths, Mithra, Siva, the god who dances, the luminous beings who are named in the mysteries." And this religion is none other than the religion of the Roman pagan, "the historians' philosophy of absolute autonomy, the sacred science of the mysteries and initiations."

Such a religion, in the practical field, ends in deifying the state, and it is exactly this domination which immediately strikes observers.

This authoritarianism of the Fascist state is absolute [an extremely talented observer, Monsignor Louis Picard, wrote in 1925], it has such powerful means of overthrowing all resistance, including the national militia. Fascism is a passion, a noble and dangerous passion. The most passionate are the ones who give the tone to the Fascist world. See which man they chose as secretary-general, as the real chief of the party, Farinacci, atheist, duellist, pugnacious, loyal, boorish, brutal, eloquent, a challenger, a ruthless tyrant.

There is not a single believing and practising Catholic among the leading men of Fascism. And it is not by chance nor accident. The Fascist spirit in all its beauty is not compatible with the spirit of the Church.

Without doubt, particularly in the moral field, temperaments were brought to this tough ideal by the Duce, more of a realist than his early companions, more released from the passions of the partisan, thanks to the exercise of power; but one is not always able to break loose when one is at the pinnacle, from "those who made you king," and the crowd of zealots, all anticlerical, exercise great power on the leader.

We have already spoken of the "worst" adversaries of Fascism, the Popolari, or Catholic Party, and the leader, Don Sturzo, whom Mussolini, after offering an alliance with the Fascisti, which was of course refused by the priest, unhesitatingly crushed by political and violent means. Nevertheless implacable hatred has been the Fascist attitude towards *Popolarismo* to this day.

This hatred not only drove Don Sturzo into exile, but manifested itself against Cardinal Gasparri, whom Fascisti considered a parent or a patron of the Partito Popolari, a view which, despite official denials, is not totally devoid of truth. The yellow *Tevere* in 1926 attacked the *Osservatore Romano*, and the *Tribuna* charged the cardinal secretary of state with lending his support to the utmost limit to the *Popolo* of Donati, and the party it represented, that is, the Catholic.

From its beginning, Fascism appeared suspicious of the protection of the Holy See, which it declared the Catholics of the P.P.I. possessed. Discreetly, Cardinal Gasparri then wrote to the bishops of Italy, October 2, 1922, to insist on the duty of abstinence of bishops and priests in political matters. Apparently the "popular" clergy was meant and it was so understood.

In his turn the pope, on several occasions, appeared to advise coöperation with Fascism. He pledged the Catholics, in view of the public good, to "sacrifice their particular aspirations." He condemned the alliance (proposed by Don Sturzo) of the Catholics with the Socialists for a common front against Fascism. A fraction of the "populars," behind Mattei-Gentili and Egidio Martire, separated from the rest into a sort of Catholic section of the Fascist Party, whose political action, to tell the truth, did not respond, either in its conduct or in its results, to the hopes that had been placed in it, but its position at the beginning seemed well to have corresponded to pontifical strategy.

The struggle for the control of the party ended with the sacrifice of Don Sturzo—sacrificed by the Holy See on the altar of political necessity. It marked the public victory of the Fascist Party which now became the "regime." But it destroyed neither the suspicions of the leaders of the regime nor the bitterness of the leading Catholics. Fascism was continuing to follow its policy of prestige at no matter what price—as it did in the stabilization of the lira and in the theatrical and tragic affair at Corfu; it was not seeking substantial advantages or honorary satisfactions.

Meanwhile the regime took peremptory decisions in the field

of education where the Church has always showed the most watchful activity. These decisions seemed altogether consistent with the most exigent demands of the papacy. In the course of pedagogic endeavours directed by the minister of public education, Gentili, an organized reform of instruction, primary and secondary, was partly realized during the year 1923, and this reform permitted religious teaching in the schools. An official note permitting the resumption of religion in the public schools read:

Elementary instruction includes three courses or degrees: preparatory, inferior, and superior.

Instruction in Christian doctrine according to the form recognized in the Catholic tradition is placed as the foundation and completion of elementary instruction in all its degrees.

Religious instruction will be given on the days and hours suitably established by the masters of the school . . . or by other persons whose capacity will be recognized by the inspectors. For ability to give religious instruction, the inspector will rely on the opinion of the competent ecclesiastical authority. The children of parents who will personally attend to their religious instruction are exempt.

. . . In the preparatory course, the most simple prayers will be taught to the children.

In the lower courses, the children will be taught prayers and the fundamental elements of Christian doctrine, brief and clear maxims, and narratives drawn from documents and particularly from the Gospels, also accounts from sacred history; interpretation of the Lord's Prayer.

In the higher courses: lessons on ethics and Catholic dogma, on the foundation of the Ten Commandments and parables of the Gospels; principles of the religious life and of the creed; the sacraments and rites according to the Catholic faith.

The objective of this measure—which was in general well received except by the few survivors of Socialism and Freemasonry—was twofold. It indicated to Catholics in general, and to the Holy See in particular, that Fascism intended, as once the Popolari, to protect religious and moral interests. Fascism also began to place crucifixes everywhere, starting with the Coliseum. It ferreted out prostitution, outlawed pornographic publications, forbade gam-

bling-houses—all this in a very ostensible, if not efficient or honest, manner.

But while making sensational and theatrical gestures, the Fascist movement was also following the straight line of its political strategy. Its vaunted new and modern conception is the mediæval conception of the absolute state, called nowadays the Totalitarian State, which takes the man, the citizen or the subject, and makes of him a cog, a part of the all-powerful collective government, and dictatorially instils in him the political beliefs, social, moral, and religious precepts of a political party. The old formula of monarchy can be repeated. Instead of "one king, one law, one faith," we have but to substitute "one party" for "one king," and the system is restored.

But—and this is the centre of the problem—the religion chosen by Fascism as the religion of the state is the Catholic religion. The reasons for it are as clear as they are numerous: Catholicism is the traditional, historic religion of Italy, "the faith of Dante and Manzoni," and for all *nationalists* this reason must be the principal one; besides that, Catholicism is kept alive by Romanism, it represents an important part of old Rome, of which Fascism considers itself the direct heir; it constitutes also, by its spirit of unity, by its creed of discipline, by its teaching of sacrifice and optimism, the symbol type of "the new Italian" who will be the artisan of this Greater Italy, of this Third Rome (strong neighbour of the *Dritte Reich* announced by Moeller van den Brucke to the Hitlerites). Finally, Catholicism offers by its international framework, more and more occupied by Italians, a free and discreet vehicle throughout the world, for the Fascist spirit and for the interests of the peninsula. "In spite of its supernational activity," Rocco, one of the highest personages of the regime, writes (*Stampa*, February 12, 1931): "the Catholic Church, because of its organization and its spirit, is always necessarily an Italian institution."

The Holy See appeared cautious. Religion, instituted as a state religion, possessed only just enough liberties a teacher must be allowed in relation to the parents of his pupil. He could only teach

so much, and if he deviated from the framework which the regime tries to make religion enter, the regime commands him to modify his teaching or remain silent; if he refuses, the regime reminds the bishops that in its eyes they are holy "officers of the state"—the "violet prefects" of Napoleon—or it may say that the pope confides too much power in them and deviates from his province. The powers the state admits belonging to the Church are very limited, concern only religion, the supernatural life, properly called, consisting of private prayers, mass, and the sacraments. It is the old conception, altogether pagan, of the priest as simple minister of the cult, agent, one may say, of sacred and living ceremonies, in the sacristy.

Fascism, claiming to be the true leader of youth, established the national *Balilla* in 1926. Its official aims are stated by its president, the Honourable R. Ricci, in the annual of the International Centre of Studies on Fascism:

The education of youth appears to Fascism as a problem of primary importance, necessary to the establishment of a new political order which it intends to realize.

Born in a period of complete disorganization of the collective conscience, a general bewilderment of the historic sentiments of the nation, Fascism, thanks to the almost religious enthusiasm it has aroused, has succeeded in gathering the scattered fragments of post-bellum Italy for the purpose of welding the new Italy.

It is the National Balilla movement which must produce this new Italian.

The movement comprises the *Balilla* and the *Avanguardisti*. The former are children from eight to fourteen years old, the latter young people from fourteen to eighteen years old.

The boys are not the only ones to benefit from this, but also the young girls whose education until now was so different from the other young people. The national *Balilla* wishes to make the gymnasium and the sports world the centre of Italian life, just as the gymnast and the palestra were formerly the centres of Roman and Greek life.

We have still to speak of pre-military education. The organization requires that its pupils, at the time that they will have come of age,

will be capable of suitably entering in the higher schools of the army, the navy or aviation. It will try above all to develop the sentiment of absolute devotion to the country in peace time as in time of war. This preparation of young people for a military life has properly scandalized faint spirits in certain so-called democratic countries.

Peace and war are two phases in the life of the people, equally necessary to their development, to their greatness, and to their growth. Fascism wants only to realize in Italy what the modern states have realized among themselves since the beginning of time, the ability to defend with arms, at all times and against whoever threatens their existence and their prestige.

Two feminine categories, the "Little Italians" (*Piccole Italiane*) and the "Young Italians" (*Giovanni Italiane*) which correspond, respectively, to the *Balilla* and the *Avanguardisti*, receive a very strong gymnastic and military training. They wear uniforms, the lictor's rod, and practise regular exercises with the rifle.

These matters speak for themselves. However, they become more eloquent when one knows that this goes on year after year to the Fascist *leva*, a large and solemn ceremony by which the adolescent becomes a Fascist and accepts the Fascist spirit, as, if one dares to say it, one accepts the Holy Spirit. Because the Fascist Party, in order not to lose its "spirit," is now a closed party, which does not accept any more members, and recruits solely for the yearly quota of the new generations, until the time when it estimates that the party itself will be identified with the nation.

For this identification to be accomplished, all that is necessary is that the *Balilla* expand, create Fascist youth, and for the years to roll on. But, similar in organization but opposed in principles, there existed even before the formation of the *Balilla* the youth organization known as the *Esploratori*, or Catholic Boy Scouts, which not only offered families a sports club for their children, but also a moral and religious organization. But the Fascist state refused to meet this "free competition" and turned scornfully on the Catholic organization which it branded the "children's chorus" (*chierichetti*); it demanded in this, as in all things, a

complete monopoly. Without delay it rushed through a decree on January 9, 1927, abolishing with one stroke of the pen all existing Catholic Boy Scout organizations in localities of less than 20,000 population. The remaining troupes were obliged to carry the initials O.N.B. (*Opera Nazionale Balilla*) on their banners, the Fascist lictor's emblem, the symbol of the new regime.

The pope had already condemned the un-Christian-like character of the *Catechismo del Balilla* and had protested the militarization of youth and the "denudation" of young girls who wore sleeveless blouses and bloomers in their gymnastic meetings; he now expressed his intense fear of the violence that was being done the young Catholic groups. In a letter to Cardinal Gasparri, January 24th, he ordered the dissolution of the Catholic groups, saying that in doing so he ceded to force alone, and assured his dear children, "the apple of my eye," of his deep affection. In an effort to save the latter organization the pope declared the existing groups independent of Catholic Action.

However, this material victory did not disarm the Fascist zealots. In the Chamber of Deputies the minister of education, Fedele, on March 25th, attacked "the hypocrites who, despite the appearance of a too easy conversion, are maintaining their ancient faith"; August Turati, secretary-general of the party, in July at Naples, declared that "it is necessary that racial tension should become the every-day tension; it is necessary to make the young participate in it." As an ideal for youth he urged expertness with the plough and the gun and told them to live "in all the arrogance of youth." More and more uneasy over Fascist violence and tendencies, Pius XI, on March 25, 1928, said to the diocesan commission of Rome: "We know that the parents who understand what is and must be the proper education and Christian formation of youth, for which only the Church has the mission and the means, are nowadays deeply troubled in seeing forces working for a complete monopoly of the education of the young, not only physically, but morally and spiritually as well."

Four days later came the reply of the Duce himself, made at a meeting of the Council of Ministers. Of the Fascist *leva*, or initia-

tion ceremony, he said: "It is not merely a ceremony, but a most important moment in the system of education for the Totalitarian preparation of Italian manhood which the Fascist Revolution regards as the fundamental task of the state. . . . Knowing the amplitude of the *Balilla* and *Avanguardisti* movement, knowing the character of the functions of the state, the reasons for other youth organizations, which are dictated by purely contingent motives, lose their reason for existence from day to day; the necessity appears for reforming the law in accordance with integral and intransigent Fascism."

The Fascist press—there is no other in Italy outside Vatican City—took up the subject launched by the Duce with increased violence. The threat did not remain long without effect. On March 30th the Council of Ministers authorized the absolute suppression of all Catholic Boy Scout organizations, the law which went into operation April 9th ironically specifying that private chapels, study circles, and similar Catholic organizations could remain.

Again, and in like manner, the Vatican bowed.

But new troubles resulting in more brutal actions occurred in the neighbouring provinces of Catholic Action. This movement we have already mentioned as the brain child and the beloved daughter of Pius XI. Organized in October, 1923, it has as president-general a distinguished layman, Louis Colombo, and as chaplain (*assistente ecclesiastico*) the qualified delegate of the secretary of state, Monsignor Pizzardo. But official and pontifical patronage did not shield Catholic Action from Fascist violence. At the end of 1922 two priests of Capriolo, near Brescia, were the victims of a punitive expedition of the Fascist legions of that city. In 1924 aggressions multiplied against the centres, clubs, printing-offices, and institutions belonging to the *Azione Cattolica*, a total of about two hundred being partly or wholly destroyed. The pope immediately sent 500,000 lire to the president of the *Azione* for the purpose of repairing part of the damages.

The Fascist press was furious. It declared that the burned and



plundered clubs were the haunts of the Popolari. Mussolini himself sneered. One of the wrecked clubs was in a place called Brazzia; when the pope sent the money for its restoration the Duce referred to him in public as "Papa Brazziola." The fiery secretary-general of the party, Farinacci, instead of regretting bloodshed and devastations, favoured extending them: "What the Fascists in the province of Milan are doing at present," he wrote in his paper, "is in our eyes fully justified. We will state willingly only one reproach, that is that it would have been much more advantageous to act more quickly."

In July, 1925, then in December-January, 1926, the violences began again at Florence and at Pisa, going as far as the pilfering of the offices of Catholic lawyers. Cardinal Maffi, ardent patriot, sent a telegram to the minister of the interior, saying: "As a Catholic I weep; as an Italian I am ashamed." This leading savant of the Catholic hierarchy, who had received the second largest number of votes on several conclave ballots, was openly anti-Fascist. When the Fascist ruffians who had invaded Pisa were brought to trial, but not convicted—the usual occurrence, no judge daring to sentence a Fascist—Cardinal Maffi broke through the Fascist censorship with a pastoral letter which is one of the greatest indictments of Fascism. It is entitled "You Race of Cain" and ends with an anathema, "Cursed in time, cursed in eternity."

In August the outbreak of violence was repeated. The Fascisti fell upon the Catholic Boy Scouts of Mantova and the Catholic students at Macerata, beating and bruising them, breaking up their parade, and despoiling them of banners and symbols. On August 31st the *Osservatore* printed the following note: "Owing to the sad events which have taken place recently, the ecclesiastical authority has judged it inopportune for the groups of young Catholic gymnasts from the cities of Italy and from abroad to hold their meeting. Consequently it gives the order to suspend the international gymnastic tournament of the Catholic Federations of Europe which should have taken place in Rome from the 3rd to the 6th of September."

This announcement was a great blow to the Fascists. It was

aggravated when the secretary-general of the *Fédération des Patronages de France*, Thibaudeau, published the contents of his interview with the pope following the suspension of the tournament. "I had a private interview with the pope," declared M. Thibaudeau, "in which I asked for authority to permit the gymnasts of the French association to journey to Rome as simple pilgrims, for the purpose of expressing their regret. Gently, but firmly Pius XI repulsed my suggestion. 'The situation is too serious,' the pope answered me.

"But the holy father," continued M. Thibaudeau, "asks us to profit by the incident and to make it known by breaking through the censorship which is severe in Italy, and telling the truth to the entire world. The Italian press is not able to say anything; liberty itself has been banished and the badly informed stranger does not know what is happening in Italy, where everything is in the hands of the tyrannical militia."

Another cause of friction between the booming Totalitarian State and the Holy See was the control Fascism exercised over the workingmen of Italy through its Labour Charter, which, it has been said, has reduced Italians to little more than serfs. The Church, under Leo XIII, had blessed the formation of labour unions and encouraged friendly relations between capital and labour. The syndicate law of 1926 organized employees and employers and made them cogs and wheels in the Fascist state corporation, labour losing all its individualism and its rights to act collectively as in non-dictatorial countries. The Church could not approve. But as was the case with the Catholic political party and the Catholic youth movement, the Church could not prevail.

Mussolini having through *force majeure* won these victories, and having employed violence when necessary to intimidate the Vatican, found it opportune to make peace. [The Lateran Pacts and the course of events since their signature are discussed in the succeeding chapter.]

On the 13th of May, 1929, Mussolini give the senate a historical account of the peace negotiations. He mentioned Cavour's

formula, "a free Church within a free state," adding that the new situation was rather "a sovereign state within the Kingdom of Italy; the Catholic Church with a certain preëminence loyally and voluntarily recognized; free admission of other religions." Turning to a senator who had offered the phrase, "free and sovereign Church; free and sovereign state," Mussolini added:

"This formula might create the belief that there are two sovereignties co-existent, but they do not co-exist. One counts as the Vatican City, and one counts as the Kingdom of Italy, which is the Italian state. It must be understood that between the Italian state and the Vatican City there is a distance which can be measured in thousands of miles, even if it requires only five minutes to go and see this state and ten minutes to walk around its confines.

"There are, then, two sovereignties perfectly distinct and well differentiated, perfectly and reciprocally recognized. But within the state the Church is not sovereign and is not even free. It is not sovereign and is not free because in its institutions and its men it is subject to the general laws of the state and is even subject to the special clauses of the concordat."

The Duce then sketched the rise of Christianity. "This religion," he said, "was born in Palestine but became Catholic in Rome. If it had been confined to Palestine it would in all probability never have been more than one of the numerous sects which flourished in that overheated environment, like that of the Essenes or the Therapeutæ. The chances are that it would have perished and left no trace."

In similar vein Mussolini spoke disrespectfully of the pope and the faith, quoting authors on the Index, giving flat denials to several of the pope's statements, adding that the Vatican had been only too glad to negotiate, and that, moreover, it remained under the "protectorate" of the Italian state.

"We have buried the temporal power of the popes, not resuscitated it," said the Duce.

"Any other regime than ours," he declared, "may believe it useful to renounce the education of the young generations. In

this field I am intractable. Education must be ours. Our children must be educated in our religious faith, but we must round out this education and we need to give our youths a sense of virility and the power of conquest."

The pope's reply was thunderous. He had read Mussolini's speech May 14th at eleven in the morning, an hour and half before the first pilgrimage was to visit him. To the professors and pupils of the College of Mondragone he made the famous reply in which he referred to Mussolini as the devil.

The pope began by attacking the Fascist Spartan educational principle that children belong more or less to the state and that the state's interests are supreme. His reasoning was that the wishes of the individual and his family should be uppermost in educational matters and that the state should only supplement this without teaching any aggressive nationalism and conquest ideas.

"The state should interest itself in education," said the pope, "but the state is not made to absorb and annihilate the family, which would be absurd and against nature, for the family comes before society and before the state. The state should perfect the activities of the family in full correspondence with the desires of the father and mother, and it should respect especially the divine right of the Church in education."

This was regarded as a direct blow by the pontiff at the Fascist monopoly of education through the *Balilla* and the *Avanguardisti* and a protest against the abolition of the Catholic Boy Scouts. The pontiff also reminded the state that its powers are conferred on it by those it governs. Hence, he said, the state should devote those powers to the advantage of those who conferred them, illustrating the wide gap between the democratic, universal ideas of the Church, and the national, anti-democratic ideas of Fascism.

The pope continued: "We cannot admit that in its educational activities the state shall try to raise up conquerors or encourage conquests. What one state does in this line all the other states can do. What would happen if all the states educated their people

for conquests? Does such education contribute to general world pacification?

"We can never agree with anything which restricts or denies the right which nature and God gave the Church and the family in the field of education. On this point we are not merely intractable, but we are uncompromising. We are uncompromising just as we would be forced to be uncompromising if asked 'How much does two plus two make?' Two plus two makes four and it is not our fault if it does not make five or six or fifty. When it is a question of saving a few souls and impeding the accomplishment of greater damage to souls, we feel courage to treat with the devil in person. And it was exactly with the purpose of preventing greater evil that we negotiated with the devil some time ago when the fate of our dear Catholic Scouts was decided.

"We made great sacrifices then in order to prevent greater evils, but we gave witness to the great grief we felt at being so much restricted. Our rights and principles cannot even be discussed. We have no material force to sustain our uncompromising attitude, but this is no disadvantage, for truth and right has no need for material force."

This reply of the pope, which well illustrates the unbridgeable gulf between Church and state, was not mentioned in the Fascist press, but a month later Mussolini published his speech with all its violent language, inaccuracies, and insults to the pontiff. The pope then addressed a letter to Cardinal Gasparri which was published June 5, two days before the ratification of the Lateran Pacts by the Vatican and the Quirinal. "Heretical, and worse than heretical," said the pope of the Duce's speech before the Chamber. He objected especially to the statement that the Catholic Church in Italy is subject to the state:

"It is always the supreme pontiff who intervenes and negotiates in the fulness of the sovereignty of the Catholic Church, which he does not represent, but personifies by direct divine mandate. It is not, therefore, the Catholic organization in Italy which would be subject to the sovereignty of the state, but the pontiff himself, the supreme sovereign authority of the Church, who

judges what can and what must be done for the greater glory of God and for the greater good of souls."

The pope does not object to the statement that other religions are freely admitted in the Italian state, "provided it is clearly and loyally understood that the Catholic religion, and the Catholic religion alone, is the state religion with all the logical and juridical consequences that that state implies, especially where propaganda is concerned, and provided it is no less clearly and loyally understood that the Catholic religion is not merely one of the many tolerated or permitted religions, but is what the letter and spirit of the Lateran Treaties and Concordat make it."

Regarding Mussolini's statement that Italy will enjoy full liberty of conscience and full liberty of discussion, the pope claims that full liberty of discussion is inadmissible because some forms of discussion can easily trick unenlightened minds and become cloaks for harmful propaganda. Nor is it possible to concede full liberty of conscience, he says, as it "would be like saying that creatures are not subject to the Creator," unless, he adds, this means that it is recognized that consciences are not subject to the state, in which case it follows logically that it must also be recognized that the task of education belongs to the Church and not to the state.

Of this letter, as of the speech of May 13th, the Fascist press agreed to say nothing. Only *l'Impero*, very close to the Fascist hierarchy, spoke up, but the tone was enough to indicate the state of spirit that prevailed in this society:

We do not believe it is necessary to give great importance to this letter to Cardinal Gasparri, but we wish to say that the pope, descending abruptly to the level of a newspaper dispute, supposes that he can censure the Duce: the Duce, we recall, does not discuss himself. He is not discussable.

There is yet another aspect which cannot be discussed in the pontifical letter: it shows the possibility of a renaissance of an opposition press in Italy which has already been destroyed for a long time. Fascism alone is able to criticize Fascism, and as for criticizing il Duce, no one can do it and no one must do it.

The dogma is there—the basis of our grandeur. Mussolini, let no one forget it, is the man of Providence.

The year 1929, so gloriously started, ended sadly for the Holy See. Replying to the Christmas prayers of the Holy College, the pope had to defend publicly once more the *Azione Cattolica* and to deplore the seizure of a number of Catholic journals.



## CHAPTER XXIV

### *The Lateran Pacts—and After*

THERE WAS A TIME WHEN FASCISM ANNOUNCED THAT ITS GREATEST achievement had been the solution of the Roman question. This claim, trumpeted in the press and spread by international Fascist propaganda, has been universally accepted. The Vatican made no claims, employed no propaganda—but quietly enjoyed its victory.

Mussolini was not the first Italian premier to begin negotiations for peace with the Holy See. Orlando and Nitti, to mention only post-war premiers, had made considerable progress in pourparlers with the papal secretaries of state. Pope Benedict at one time was close to a treaty. The important fact about these past negotiations is that the Vatican asked for much less than the Fascist Government gave, and that amount was still considered too much by the various premiers. The papal spokesmen in those days did not suggest a concordat or "the virtual reestablishment of canon law in Italian civil life." It is the opinion of ex-Premier Nitti that Mussolini was so desperately in need of something in 1929 to reconcile him to the masses that he surrendered completely to the Holy See. Mussolini had insisted that terms be sent him, and the Vatican, having no confidence in the professed atheist and man of violence, drew up a treaty which it felt could not be accepted inasmuch as it overstepped every previous demand. To the great surprise of the Church, Mussolini surrendered—and, like Napoleon on similar but military occasions, announced a victory.

The treaty of conciliation, the concordat and the financial agreement, were signed on February 11, 1929, at the Lateran Palace. It was raining sadly when several automobiles, the last containing Cardinal Gasparri, drove into the Piazza Laterana. At



noon the bells sounded, the Duce and his staff entered the hall of Constantine, and were greeted by the pope's representative. The council-hall, where Charlemagne was the guest of Leo III, had been prepared for the signing. On the big table, a gift from the Philippine Islands, were spread blotters and inkwells and papers. Gasparri made several remarks to Mussolini such as, "I am happy to welcome you to our parochial house," and, "I rejoice the treaties are being signed on the fête day of Notre Dame de Lourdes, protectrice of the Holy See," but Mussolini turned a blank, ignorant face to these remarks. Gasparri then added: "And on the seventh anniversary of the coronation of his holiness." "Ah," replied Mussolini, "that coincidence has not escaped me."

Gasparri conducted Mussolini in silence to the Philippine table with the eight chairs from China; they sat and exchanged documents. The pope had sent a gold pen, blessed by him, which Gasparri presented to Mussolini the moment the two signatures had been affixed. They then shook hands and congratulated one another. The whole event took less than half an hour from arrival to departure. Mussolini pulled aside to let Gasparri's automobile pass. There were a few cheers for the secretary of state and theological students in the square sang a *Te Deum*. When Mussolini departed there was a great shouting of "Eya! eya! eya! Alala!" from the crowds of Fascists. They and the flags in the piazza dripped rain.

The Lateran agreements decided the Roman question irrevocably. The pope was given full sovereignty, without reserve, over a new nation, the State of Vatican City. The Italian government pays an indemnity to the Holy See for the confiscation of the old Papal States. Catholicism becomes the state religion in Italy and religious instruction is established in the schools. Catholic Action is official, recognized and protected. Italy agrees that the Vatican state "will always and in every case be considered neutral and inviolable." The pope expressly declares that the papacy, "while reserving the right to exercise its moral and spiritual power, wishes to remain and will remain extraneous to all temporal disputes between states and to international congresses held for such ob-

jects, unless the contending parties make concordant appeal to its peaceful mission. . . ."

The new nation consists of the Vatican palace within the famous walls, the gardens, the piazza of Saint Peter's, the neighbouring buildings between Viala Vaticano and the Basilica, a total of forty-four hectares, about one hundred acres, or seventeen-one-hundredths of a square mile. Fourteen other plots of ground and their buildings belong to the pope, including San Giovanni in Laterano, Santa Maria Maggiore, San Paolo, the palaces of the Dateria, Cancelleria, Propaganda Fide, and Sant'Uffizio. Castel Gandolfo with its hundred acres, the papal summer home, is part of the state.

Four uniformed and more or less armed bodies police the new state. The Swiss Guards today number ninety, with five officers; the Pontifical Gendarmes, one hundred, with five officers who do the daily work; the Palatine Guard of Honour, a colonel, five officers, and three hundred men who serve without pay when there are crowds for ceremonies; and the Noble Guards, who are hardly guards at all, but the papal aristocracy who function at state and religious affairs. At noon, June 7, 1929, the bronze doors of the Vatican palace, which were closed in September, 1870, were rolled back by the Swiss Guards.

The governor, appointed by the pope, maintains public order, protects property, public health, and public morality. The organization of any association which is not regulated by the code of canon law is prohibited without authorization, likewise meetings in public places or meetings open to the public, or the carrying or possession of weapons even in one's home (including those having an artistic value). The public exercise of the typographic, lithographic, or photographic arts or other means of mechanical or chemical reproduction of characters, designs, or images is prohibited without authorization, likewise the placing of posters or the distribution of public notices, written or printed, books, engravings, lithographs, photographs, or statues of any nature. Finally unauthorized public hawkers, guides, and interpreters are banned.

The national anthem is the ancient pontifical hymn played by the papal troops since 1857, composed by Victor Hallmayr for the 47th Austrian Infantry Regiment; the language of the state is Italian, 389 of the 518 inhabitants being Italian. Latin remains the ecclesiastical language.

Anyone making a contract in the interests of Vatican City for sums superior to 5,000 lire must submit it for examination to the bureau of finances. The authorization of the governor is necessary for the acquisition of houses and mortgages, or rental and subrental. Sale and resale of merchandise is a state monopoly; exportation into the Italian kingdom is prohibited. No person can run a shop or office or studio even for simple callings without authorization of the governor, nor introduce industrial enterprises or exercise any profession.

To live in the Vatican state all persons must obtain authorization.

The pope exercises supreme legislative, administrative, and judicial power; any case may be appealed to the Holy See. The treaty provides that "At the request of the Holy See, on delegation of power, which may be given by the Holy See either in simple cases or permanently, Italy will provide within her own territory for the punishment of crimes committed in Vatican City."

While ambassadors of all nations are never permitted to enter into relations with citizens or rulers except through foreign offices, the papal nuncio is permitted and does enter into relations with laymen, preachers, bishops or communicants. It is incompatible for the pope to attend the League of Nations or similar meetings.

Permanent residents are subjects of the Vatican state; cardinals of the Curia are subjects also; and Vatican state residents, while in Italian territory, are subject to Italian legislation. Italy provides for the union of the postal, telephone, and telegraph lines and the exchange of mail services. The Vatican state is permitted to coin money; for ten years there will be no ban on a free exchange with Italian money; the Vatican is to issue 1,000,000 lire a year for half this contract, then 800,000 annually.

The treaty mentions an agreement to be made for the circulation in Italy of Vatican aircraft. No such thing exists, but provision is made for a future pope arriving and leaving his territory by air.

The financial agreement provided that Italy pay the Vatican 750,000,000 lire in cash and 1,000,000,000 lire in 5 per cent state consols which, the Fascist Government states, is much less than what the state would have to pay the Holy See if it were merely carrying out the obligation by the law of May 13, 1871. But according to neutral legal experts this is not true. The 1871 annual grant was 3,225,000 lire, which in fifty-nine years, without interest, would reach only 190,275,000 lire. By Italian law the Vatican could not recover unpaid instalments, owing to a five-year law of limitations.

"We find a state," summarizes Gordon Ireland, assistant professor at the Harvard Law School,

much smaller in size and population than any other state: nominally sovereign and independent, with many of the powers and privileges of sovereignty and a few of the obligations, in reality wholly dependent for its existence on the good will of the established nation whose territory surrounds it on all sides; governed by an absolute irresponsible monarch who rules temporally by virtue of being at the same time the head of a far larger ancient and powerful church organization, deeply interested and in some degree influential in the internal law and policies, such as the marriage status and education, of the surrounding nation. This state has entered as an equal into bilateral and multipartite treaties, some of which require possible submission to judgments of other sovereigns or tribunals, while in his spiritual capacity the sovereign head acknowledges neither superior or equal.

The United States is hardly likely to have problems of actual intercourse, in land or maritime commerce, alliances, claims of nations or injuries to pride or honour with the temporal state; but has in the population of its continent and possessions a very large group of persons who yield primary and absolute spiritual allegiance to the head of the ecclesiastical organization. If temporal questions arose, the United States could address the papal secretary of state, as in the case of any other foreign country with which it exchanges no diplomatic representatives; while in church matters neither the United States nor any one of the states has any official interest and could not inter-

vene except, as in the case of any citizen or resident, so far as municipal law should be involved. Under the Constitution, with past tradition and existing public policy, it is highly important in the United States, as it might not be in European countries or other American republics where the Roman Catholic faith is the established official religion of the state, when considering the desirability of entering into new relations, or contemplating the probable nature and effect of such relations, to distinguish clearly between the acts, interests, and purposes of the small temporal entity which is the state of the City of the Vatican and those of the great spiritual hierarchy which is the Holy See.

The announcement of the Lateran Pacts naturally caused a great sensation in America. When the first excitement had passed, the question of religious liberty, marriage, and child education still continued to be argued. To Charles Marshall, who had raised the question of Governor Smith's religion, the treaty was a disaster. Again he expressed his views in the *Atlantic Monthly*:

The Agreement has confirmed the convictions of a large part of the American people that Mr. Smith's assertion of his own high personal belief was in conflict with his church—a conviction strengthened by the silence of the supreme authority of the church during the campaign. Non-Catholics have become conscious of the menace to their rights.

The changes accomplished in the organic law of Italy by the Italo-Vatican Agreement support those considerations. The resident minority have been deprived of rights as valuable as the right of life itself. The equality of moral right in society has been subordinated to the special privileges of Roman Catholics; religious liberty has been further subordinated to Roman Catholicism as the sole religion of the state; the state has made constitutional recognition of the inherent juristic personality of the church as anterior to and independent of the state, and has accepted the principle that Roman Catholic doctrine is the foundation and capstone of public education. . . .

. . . Leo XIII in his encyclical on the Chief Duties of Christians as Citizens, declared: "If the laws of the state are manifestly at variance with the divine law, containing enactments hurtful to the Church, or conveying any injunctions adverse to the duties imposed by religion,

or if they violate in the person of the supreme pontiff the authority of Jesus Christ, then truly, to resist becomes a positive duty; to obey, a crime. . . ."

. . . It would seem indeed true that the modern state, which by an electoral majority has once established a Constitution repudiating Divine Right and decreeing religious freedom, can assure the maintenance of such a Constitution only by hereafter limiting the electoral franchise to those who can act in the fulness of a free mind and conscience, and are wholly released from religious and moral obedience to ecclesiastical authority in Divine Right. Can the civic state in reason be asked through universal suffrage to incorporate into its life and being a sovereignty superior to its own, with power to annul its laws for any part of its citizens? Shall the American state remain inactive while Catholic Action reduces present non-Catholic majorities, and seeks to mould a new Constitution on the lines of the Italian concordat? Can it in reason be asked to wait upon the multiplication of citizens inspired by Catholic Action and taught by an alien religious sovereignty that when, in its opinion, the laws of their country are hurtful to that sovereignty, to resist the laws of their country is a positive duty and to obey them a crime?

. . . The Roman Catholic majority in Italy, led by the reigning pope, has given to the world convincing proof of the inherent claim of its religion to the power in Divine Right to deprive opposing minorities of their social, political, and moral rights. Such a claim cannot be reconciled with American constitutional government. . . .

The free conscience in the modern state is not an ideal. It is a necessity. It is the only weapon in the latest struggle of society with Divine Right in its last stronghold—the Roman Catholic Church. It is all that stands, in the United States, between equality of religious liberty and the subordination to the Roman Catholic Church of the present rights of American citizenship.

Mr. Marshall's contentions are summed up by the brilliant Catholic writer, Hilaire Belloc, as follows:

1. That the Catholic Church, in asserting a universal right of judgment in faith and morals, claims, both in theory and in practice, the right to destroy by any means, other conflicting bodies in disagreement with it. . . .

2. That the subjection of the reason made by Catholics to a general

authority outside the individual, and in particular to papal authority, is incompatible with citizenship in the modern state. . . .

3. That the claims of the Catholic Church, being universal, tend to conflict with the claims of the modern laical absolute state, which are particular.

. . . I wholly disagree with the first, and find it based on a misconception. The fear that Catholics will, or should, work, otherwise than by persuasion, for the destruction of an established non-Catholic society around them can only arise from an ignorance of history and of Catholic doctrine.

With the second I disagree partly, and partly agree . . . the strong and perfect philosophy of Catholics upon civic duties will make them, if they are good Catholics, better citizens (saving Catholic morals) than any others. For they alone will be able to give ultimate reasons for obedience to the laws, whether in a state upon the democratic model (as in Andorra), the oligarchic and plutocratic (as in England and all parliamentary countries), or the monarchic (as in Italy, Poland, and so forth), where one man is supreme over representatives.

As to the third proposition, I find myself wholly in agreement with Mr. Marshall. In my judgment the tendency to a conflict between any state claiming unlimited powers and the Catholic Church is inevitable . . . the civil state is always potentially in conflict with the Catholic Church. And when the civil state claims absolute authority for its law in all matters, then it will inevitably come sooner or later into active conflict with the Catholic Church.

That there should be disputes and misunderstandings abroad is only natural. Yet in Rome itself the ink of the signatures was hardly dry before Church and state questioned one of the most important paragraphs of the treaty. It provides that the religious ceremony of marriage should also bind the parties legally. The pope understood the clause to mean anyone baptized in the Catholic faith would be required by the state to adopt the religious form of marriage. The pope was disillusioned when Mussolini announced, in ratifying the agreements, that any subject enjoyed the liberty, according to the dictates of his conscience, to adopt either religious or civil form of marriage. When Protestant ministers and Jewish rabbis had protested the treaty, Mussolini recog-

nized them as marriage officers in their churches and synagogues with the same warrant as priests in Catholic Churches. Mussolini exempted children of non-Catholic parents from attending religious teachings in state schools. The pope maintained that the education of the young was the main or even the exclusive business of the Church. Mussolini replied that the state must have unrestricted powers, on the ground that there could be no power higher than the state; he was willing to have the Church teach discipline and self-sacrifice, but unwilling for the Catholic doctrine of pacifism to be taught, as it might sap the military ardour of the nation he was preparing for war.

But the polemics of 1929 lost their violence and the first anniversary of the Vatican state was duly celebrated. Then came the second anniversary, which was heralded by the Fascist press, especially Mussolini's *Popolo d'Italia*, edited by his brother Arnaldo, who sang lyrically for a time. Meanwhile Catholic institutions were making unparalleled progress. Not only were the youth organizations strengthened, but the *Azione Cattolica* showed from 25 to 50 per cent membership increases in a short time. According to the Fascisti the old leaders of the Popolari and their followers were swamping the Catholic organizations for the purpose of using them as political centres. Whether or not this was true, it was a fact that with the suppression of all individual liberty in Italy the only freedom left in the peninsula was in the Vatican, therefore tens of thousands of persons were participating in the laymen's activities of the Catholic Church.

The Fascist organ, *Lavoro Fascista*, in 1931 claimed that the Catholic League was debating "explicit proposals for supplanting Fascism." May 26th it accused Monsignor Pizzardo, diplomat and chaplain-general, of declaring that "Catholic Action must be strong enough to seize power." "It is time to resort to extreme measures," concluded the official organ.

Violence broke out throughout Italy and especially in Rome. At the Rossetta restaurant Fascists attacked two priests with cries, "Kill the vicars!" At Saint Joachim they plundered the Catholic Club and caused 20,000 lire worth of damages. They also plun-



dered the Jesuit house of the *Civiltà Cattolica* and invaded the palace of the chancellery, which is protected by extraterritoriality. In the Piazza Colonna, near the foreign office, they burned copies of a book *The Pope*. One group found an oil painting of the pontiff in a Catholic club and marched with it through the streets, finally trampling it with cries of "Traitor!" At Imola a bomb was thrown into the Catholic headquarters. In Venice the House of the Apostles was invaded, Mussolini's picture placed in safe keeping, and that of the pope and the king insulted and destroyed. In the *Murialdo* Fascists smashed statues of the saints to pieces. In Civitavecchia they assaulted the convents and broke into the bishop's house. At Verona they poured petrol on the floor of the bishop's house and set it on fire. . . . In all instances the police arrived just too late.

What happened was a repetition of the customary violence which had marked the rise and success of the Fascist movement of 1919-1922, when the Socialists were the victims, and the succeeding years when Popolari, Republicans, Democrats, and Liberals were crushed. But not a line dealing with these excesses escaped the Italian censorship. Only the *Osservatore Romano* published the facts, and this paper was confiscated at the Roman kiosks.

On June 29, 1931, Pius XI issued his encyclical *Non abbiamo bisogno*, which continued the great pontifical tradition of Leo, Pius, and Gregory. Mindful of the strict Fascist censorship which never hesitated to open letters and suppress telegrams, the pope was forced to smuggle his encyclical into a free country. For this purpose he called in two trusted men who happened to be in Rome, Monsignor Frank Spellman, a very intelligent, very active and very well known priest who has since been appointed assistant to Cardinal O'Connell, archbishop of Boston, and Monsignor Vanneufville, canon of the Lateran and member of the higher council of the Propaganda Fide, also correspondent of the Catholic organ, *La Croix*, in Paris.

"They have tried to strike to death all that was and will be always dearest to the heart of Our Father and Pastor of Souls,"

says the pope in his encyclical, recounting numerous "brutalities and beatings, blows and bloodshed"—"and all this lamentable accompaniment of disrespect and violence accomplished with such intervention of members of the [Fascist] party in uniform, with such condescension from the authorities and from the forces of public safety, that it is necessary to believe that these decisions came from above." The pope then denies the official versions sent from Rome, "genuine slander spread by the party press" and the *Radio d'Italia*; finally the pope denounces as ridiculous the statement that the *Azione* had become a "nest" for the Popolari. Of the directors of 250 diocesan organizations, 4,000 sections of Catholic men's clubs, and 5,000 groups of Catholic male youth, only four men were connected with the old Popolari, "and we must add that in the four cases in question there are those who are sympathizers with the regime and the party which they took upon favourably."

And here we find ourselves [continues Pius XI] confronted by a mass of authentic affirmations and no less authentic facts which reveal beyond the slightest possibility of doubt the resolve (already in great measure actually put into effect) to monopolize completely the young, from their tenderest years up to manhood and womanhood, for the exclusive advantage of a party and of a regime based on an ideology which clearly resolves itself into a true, a real pagan worship of the state—the Statolatry—which is no less in contrast with the natural rights of the family than it is in contradiction with the supernatural rights of the church. . . .

We have seen, in fact, in action a species of religion which rebels against the directions of higher religious authorities, and imposes or encourages the non-observance of these directions . . . a religious sentiment that goes to extremes, and permits others to indulge in insulting words and actions against the person of the father and of all the faithful, even to cry out, "Down with the pope and death to him!" This is real teaching of parricide. It is a semblance of religion which cannot in any way be reconciled with Catholic doctrine and practice. . . .

A conception of the state which makes the young generations belong entirely to it, without any exception, from the tenderest years

up to adult life, cannot be reconciled by a Catholic with the Catholic doctrine and cannot, either, be reconciled with the natural right of the family.

. . . We must say that one is not a Catholic—except through baptism and in name, in contrast with the obligations of the name of Catholic and with the baptismal promises—who adopts and develops as a programme that makes his doctrines and maxims so opposed to the rights of the church of Jesus Christ and of souls, one who misunderstands, combats, and persecutes Catholic Action, which, as is universally known, the church and its head regard as very dear and precious.

You ask us, Venerable Brethren, in view of what has taken place, what is to be thought about the formula of an oath<sup>1</sup> which even little boys and girls are obliged to take about executing without discussion orders from an authority which, as we have seen and experienced, can give orders against all truth and justice and in disregard of the rights of the Church and its souls, which are already, by their very nature, sacred and inviolable, and to have them swear to serve with all their strength, even to the shedding of blood. The cause of a revolution that snatches the youth from the church and from Jesus Christ and which educates its own young forces to hate, to deeds of violence, and to irreverence, not excluding the person of the pope himself, as the latest facts have very evidently demonstrated. . . . Such an oath as it stands is unlawful.

Realizing the many difficulties of the present hour and knowing that membership in the party and the oath are for countless persons a necessary condition of their career, of their daily bread, and even of their life itself, we have sought to find a way which would restore tranquillity to these consciences, reducing to a minimum the external difficulties of the situation. It seems to us that such a means for those who have already received the membership card would be to make for themselves before God, in their own consciences, a reservation such as "saving the laws of God and of the church," or, "in accordance with the duties of a good Christian," with the firm proposal to declare also externally such a reservation if the need of it arose.

The publication of this encyclical, its appeal for liberty of human conscience, the manner in which it was smuggled abroad to

<sup>1</sup> "I swear to obey the orders of the Duce without questioning them and to serve the cause of the Fascist Revolution with all my force and if necessary with my blood."

foil the Fascisti, and its suppression for several days by the Italian press, all aided to make it a great sensation and to win world-wide sympathy for the pope from Protestants as well as Catholics. The world saw it as a conflict between a large state and the smallest state, material power on one side, spiritual on the other. Would the unarmed prophet conquer in this case?

On July 9th Mussolini ordered all Fascisti to abandon the *Azione Cattolica*. The pope declared Catholicism and Fascism incompatible; Mussolini declared Fascism and Catholicism incompatible. Both are right. After two years of trying to render unto the Duce the things which are the Duce's and unto God the things that are God's, the real crisis had come and both sides had realized that there can be no friendship between two opposing ideologies.

Cardinal Gasparri, astute and ingenious old diplomat, understood it was necessary to free the situation from its polemical element. He appealed to Father Tacchi-Venturi, former secretary-general of the Jesuits, who had become the friend and adviser of Mussolini. Negotiations lasted until September 3rd, when the Vatican and the Chigi Palace made this announcement:

After the conversations taking place between the Holy See and the Italian Government on the subject of the dissolution of the young people's clubs which are part of the Catholic Action and, in a general way, on the subject of the activity of the latter, an agreement has been made on the following terms:

(1) The *Azione Cattolica Italiana* is essentially diocesan and is strictly dependent upon the bishops, who choose the directors, both ecclesiastical and lay. There cannot in the future be chosen as directors men who belonged in the past to parties hostile to the regime. In harmony with its ends as a religious and spiritual order, the *Azione Cattolica* does not interfere in any way in politics, and in the external forms of its organizations holds itself aloof from everything that is proper to and traditional in political parties. The flag of the local associations of the *Azione Cattolica* will be the national flag.

(2) The *Azione Cattolica* does not include in its programme the constitution of professional associations and trade unions; consequently, it does not set before itself any tasks of a trade-union order. Its internal

professional sections, already now existing and governed by the law of April 3, 1926, are formed for exclusively spiritual and religious purposes, and they propose further to contribute to the result that the trade unions juridically recognized may respond even better to the principle of collaboration between the classes and to the social and national ends which, in a Catholic country, the state with its existing organizations proposes to attain.

(3) The youths' clubs dependent on the *Azione Cattolica* will be called "Catholic Action Youths' Associations." These associations will be allowed to have membership tickets and badges corresponding strictly to their religious purpose; they will not have any flag other than the national flag and their own religious standards. The local associations will refrain from pursuing any activity whatever of an athletic or sporting character, and will limit themselves solely to occupations of a recreative or an educational nature with a religious purpose.

Without entering into a long analysis, it is sufficient to remark that on the two essential points—maintenance of the *Azione Cattolica* and maintenance of the groups of youth—the Holy See obtained satisfaction. Thanks to the agreement, considered officially as a codicil of the Lateran Pacts, the Catholic apostolate "went on." Very soon, moreover, the Fascist Government publicly announced the compatibility between the party and the *Azione Cattolica* and returned the local offices to the Catholic institutions.

The third anniversary of the Lateran Pacts saw the official consecration of the harmony so restored. The 12th of February, 1932, His Holiness Pope Pius XI received in solemn audience, with all expected honours, His Excellency Chevalier Benito Mussolini, head of the government, prime minister of Italy.

A grand ceremonial visit: the ambassador, Count Cesar-Marie de'Vecchi di Val Cismon, and three ministers, Their Excellencies Rocco, Giunta and Fani, accompanied the head of the government, who wore on his grand uniform the order of the Golden Spur by the side of that of the Annunziata.

The audience took a long time; from 10:45 to 11:50, Mussolini remained in the private library of the sovereign pontiff.

He afterwards came down, according to the protocol, to pay a visit to Cardinal Pacelli and finally to the Basilica of Saint Peter, where he knelt down with his attendants at the confessional to pray. Touching dialogue: across from the sombre tomb where the first of all the popes lies, more so than in the sunny room where his last successor spoke at the time, the master of Italy, son of a Romagnol blacksmith and holder of the most earthly of powers, received with humiliation a supreme lesson in politics, which produced the tones of moderation, patience, and charity, founders of the only power which, on earth, has lasted for two thousand years.

On Wednesday, the 8th of April, 1924, the world press copied from the *Giornale d'Italia* the sensational report that for the first time since 1870 a pope had left the Vatican. Pius XI, said this report, had attended the dedication of a building given by the Knights of Columbus to the children of the Borgo and situated at the extreme limit of the Vatican precincts, beyond the colonnade to the left of the piazza of Saint Peter's, and outside the official limits of the "prison." The fact was that the pope really had intended being present, but had sent Cardinal Gasparri instead when he learned that he would have to leave the Vatican. He received the Knights later in his apartments. They presented him with the deed of the new building. He thanked them and American Catholics for their generosity, regretted he had not been able, as he had wished, to officiate at the inauguration of a work so dear to his heart. . . . "We were not able to do it," said the holy father, "without leaving this so-called extra-territoriality which, good or bad, in a definite or indefinite way, and perhaps indefinable, must defend, protect, and sanction the dignity of the Roman sovereign pontiff, the Vicar of Christ." The pope concluded by asking his American visitors to "testify, wherever it will be necessary, that contrary to what one hears from time to time, the Roman question remains without solution." (The episode and dialogue is recounted by Abbé Edouard Devogh, canonical adviser of the Belgian embassy, a witness.)

But when the Roman question was solved the pope left the Vatican. On July 25, 1929, he emerged onto the square of Saint Peter's and ended the fifty-nine-year-old legend of the prisoner of the Vatican. A quarter of a million persons crowded the piazza and its environs for the sacred pageant of the benediction of the sacrament, and received the papal blessing *Urbi et Orbi*, to the city and to the world, when the feast day of Saint James was celebrated with colourful pageantry and significant solemnity. The pope was carried on his richly decorated platform, followed by the cardinals and other church dignitaries. When he gave the apostolic blessing the quarter of a million sank to their knees.

On the 5th of December King Victor Emmanuel III and Queen Helena knelt at the feet of the pope, kissed his ring, and worshipped at the tomb of Saint Peter. This marked the real end of the conflict between state and Church. The pope was dressed in white, with a white *zuchetto*, or skullcap, and white satin slippers. He rose from his throne when the royal visitors walked across the hall. After they had knelt and kissed the ring, he raised them to their feet and gave them chairs on either side of his throne. They stayed talking for twenty minutes, exchanged gifts, knelt again, received the apostolic benediction, for themselves and the nation. There was a touch of regal splendour when the doors opened and the king's retinue entered, knelt, kissed the ring, received the blessing, while crowds cheered outside.

In May, 1933, the pope made a pilgrimage to the Basilica of St. John Lateran, the "mother church" of the Catholic faith, where he had been ordained to the priesthood fifty-four years earlier. The ex-king of Spain and the premier of Ireland, Eamon de Valera, attended the mass. On July 10th the pope made his first trip beyond the city limits of Rome.

Castel Gandolfo was built by Urban VIII in 1629 as a summer residence for the popes. *Ob coeli solisque salubritatem amenitatemque animo corporique brevi secessu refaciendis* reads the inscription on the building: ("To restore the mind and body in a short sojourn by the salubrity and the beauty of the sky and the sun"). Gandolfo is situated in the romantic Alban Mountains,

fifteen miles southeast of Rome *via* the *Appia Vecchia*. Until 1870 Pius IX went there every year, slowly riding his white mule and followed by his servants. Pius XI went there in his American motor-car. He found considerable repair work going on and looked after his chickens, his olive groves, his orchards, and his flowers.



## CHAPTER XXV

### *The Vatican, the Nations, the Modern State*

TO DEFINE THE NINETEENTH CENTURY AS THE CENTURY OF NATIONALITIES is but to utter a truism. But in this respect it may also be said that the nineteenth century began with the Renaissance and is not yet completed today. Chinese nationalism, Hindu nationalism and Irish nationalism, among the weak countries, are no less alive and intemperate than Prussian nationalism, Japanese nationalism and American nationalism, among the strong countries. For the Vatican this old and new nationalism are but graduated manifestations of one and the same principle: nationalism in short, which, it is whispered in Rome, may well be "the next heresy to be condemned."

The present conception which nations have of the state, a political body, all-powerful, preponderant, superior to Church and family, does not correspond at all to the traditional conception which the Church has formed of this word. The "nation" of the thirteenth century, the golden age of the universities, when the doctrine of the clergy flourished, consisted of a group of men of like origin, like language, and like religion, who, altogether, constituted but one member of the Universal Church, the mystic body of Jesus Christ. These nations belonged to that great republic of princes and peoples who called themselves Christianity, and one or all, without distinction of language, professed a single faith, obeyed the law and submitted to its commandments.

The Reformation and the modern spirit, crystallized in 1648 by the Peace of Westphalia, overthrew this society of nations which the idealism of the people and the patient effort of the Catholic Church had created throughout the world. The celebrated phrase which enjoined theologians to mind their own business, *silete*

*theologi in munere alieno!* marked the laicization of politics in general and international relations in particular. Since then in the relations between peoples, neither moral interests nor religious interests have prevailed nor even been spoken about. The jurists of Louis XIV and Frederick II and of Napoleon recognized only one power, the new power—the state.

However, the Catholic Church has never admitted nor will it admit this theory of secularization, and the syllabus of 1864 served only to accentuate this fact in language stronger than usual. In the eyes of the Church the nation is certainly a legitimate, even useful, groupment, which has, moreover, never ceased to encourage patriotism among Christian duties. But it expects that these nations, temporal groupments, as all other things in this world, should serve for the salvation of Christians. So, while the Vatican always shows itself full of the spirit of collaboration with the established powers, it no doubt means that, with Saint Paul, it sees in them the depositories of divine authority, but also, and much more important, that it sees in them the "sergeants" whose power and means will aid the Church in its mission. Moreover, for carrying out this spiritual policy, the "sergeants" must not become too powerful, or they will become filled with the spirit of arrogance which will make them hateful to their subjects and dangerous to the liberty of the Church. The Vatican therefore willingly encourages nationalism in countries still feeble, but always combats, at least mutely, the new overbearing nationalism. The Vatican had always sustained Poland, Poland which was Catholic and torn apart, against the absolutism of Saint Petersburg; it gives less support to Poland, reconstituted, militaristic, powerful. The Vatican favoured oppressed Ireland even to the point of favouring (at a distance removed from the Green Isle) a prelate as turbulent as Monsignor Mannix; today it combats the intransigent and intemperate Ireland of Eamon de Valera. It has always supported, discreetly, to be sure, the protests of the Alsatians and the Lorrainers who were annexed to the Reich; today it discourages the tendency of these same Alsace-Lorrainers towards federalism if not separatism. It was the friend

of the great prophet of the Yugoslav soul, the Croatan bishop Strossmayer; today it maintains a cool reserve towards the government of this same Yugoslavia which has boomed into a big state.

As regards the League of Nations, its attitude is no less curious or clear; up to 1930 it was that of prudent expectancy. "The pope does not desire a place in the League of Nations," says the Rev. Father Yves de la Brière, professor of Christian principles and law, of the Catholic Institute of Paris; "the profane affairs which he would have to treat, the rank he would have to accept, the disputes with which he would be involved, make it impossible for the holy father or his delegate to participate. The pope let it be known, semi-officially and wisely, that he had no interest in participating in a meeting where politics and contentions would arise at any moment and occupy the greater part of the year." But numerous individual Catholics have made themselves the hosts of pilgrims to Geneva. With some success they have combated the influence of Freemasonry and free thought, and figure conspicuously in the lay organizations of League inspiration. M. Gonzague de Raynold, a Swiss university professor, is on the commission of intellectual coöperation, and the Rev. Father Arnou, a French Jesuit, in the International Labour Bureau, was a close collaborator of the late Albert Thomas, its president.

Since 1930, without giving its "benediction" to the Geneva institution, the Vatican has manifested its approval of the policy of peace and can be classified, in fact, as one of the sustainers of the Geneva enterprise. The pope has seen the successes and failures of the League of Nations, the defiance with which Mussolini treated it when he bombarded the orphans of the Islands of Corfu, and the Japanese disregard of its decisions when they marched across Manchuria. But the pope sees in the League an instrument which, like the Catholic Church, works against the spread of super-nationalism and for the promotion of international peace. In his Christmas message to the cardinals in 1930 Pius XI said: "It is difficult, if not impossible, for peace to become permanent so long as selfishness and hard nationalism prevails in place of true and genuine love of country, so long as we find hatred and jealousy

in place of goodwill, suspicion in place of brotherly confidence, ambitions of hegemony and domination in place of respect for the rights of the weak and small."

Nor has the pope ceased to work against Fascist militarism, especially as it concerns the young. Although the Roman question has been settled and although the dispute over Catholic Action has been ended, the Vatican realizes that the great conflict for the education, moral and spiritual, of the youth of Italy, must go on. The present time is therefore considered a time of armistice; the treaties "provisional accords." So long as the theory of "the book and the musket" remains the state policy for the education of youth, the Catholic Church cannot accept it. Negotiations are still going on for the modification of militarism. The pope, as a last resort, can always condemn it. But, more important yet, the pope can wait. The Catholic Church is almost two thousand years old and has withstood the Goths and the Huns and the Vandals and Henry IV, Frederick Barbarossa, Napoleon, and Bismarck. Fascism is eleven years old. The Catholic Church will survive Mussolini also. It will undoubtedly see the day when even Fascism will be a word without a meaning. . . .

As regards the question of separation of Church and state; in principle the Church disapproves, but at bottom it finds it a question of sound sense. In practice the Church does not act absolutely; it distinguishes first of all between anti-clerical, hate-inspired, and generally violent separation as in Mexico and the Spanish or French separations, and the separation like that in the United States which is no more than the obligatory neutrality of the state towards the various religious conceptions and which, moreover, does not enforce public belief in the existence of God and official prayers for intercession and thanksgiving.

In many cases the Roman Church has given proof of its great goodwill and frequently of real cordiality. It may be observed even in the hostile and unilateral separation in Spain where the Vatican has endeavoured to conserve its contacts and accept the minimum of concessions. Another example of the breadth of view and the versatility of manœuvre is furnished in the attitude of

the Vatican regarding the Republic of France. Despite the abrogation of the Concordat of Napoleon and the passage of the laws of the religious congregations, the most cordial relations now exist between the pontifical government and the Quai d'Orsay; tolerance has been introduced by the war and maintained up to now, and although the Vatican has not renounced its claims on the education of youth, it has refrained from pressing them publicly, although radical and moderate and conservative governments have come and gone since 1919.

We can have no better example of the true spirit of modern Vatican policies, nor a better explanation of the numerous successes of its politics. While the believers, in their love of the Church, place their faith in the promise of immortality given by Jesus to the Apostle Peter, the plain observers may, in their turn see in the institution devoted to things of the spirit the exercise of a realism which is probably without rival in this world. Whoever may have been the workman who forged the keys of Saint Peter, they have up to now been found adaptable for all circumstances and on earth they have opened none but the doors of the future.



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